DECEMBER, 1912

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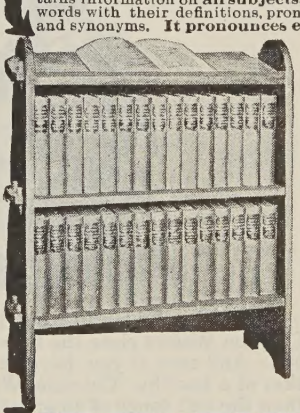
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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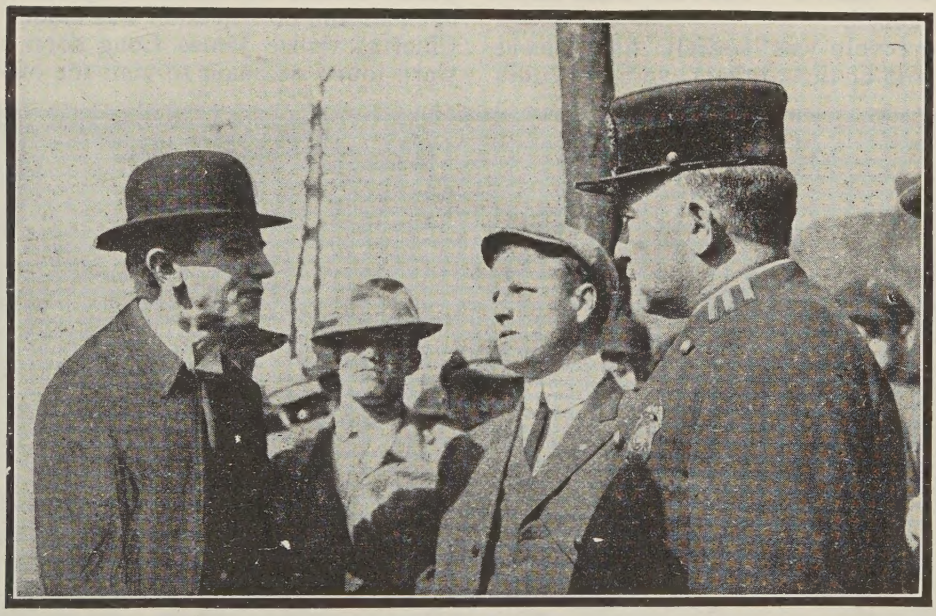
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The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIII DECEMBER, 1912 No. 6



MAYOR LUNN ROBERT BAKEMAN CHIEF LONG
Snap Shot Taken Just Before Mayor Lunn's Arrest.

The Strike at Little Falls

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

ON October 1 of this year a law went into effect in the state of New York making it illegal for female industrial slaves to work more than 54 hours a week. Some employers immediately took advantage of the situation and paid their workers what they call "pro rata"—that is, they punished the beneficiaries of this law by reducing the contents of their pay envelopes to correspond with the reduced number of hours. Departments of industry are so closely connected nowadays that the men were affected in an equal degree with the women.

Slaves in most parts of the state seem to have received the reduction with submission, but not so the employes of the

knitting mills in Little Falls. When their second pay day came around and they found their $7 envelopes short from 60 cents to $2, they did what the mill workers of Lawrence did in a similar situation —they rebelled.

On October 10 more than 1,500 workers, embracing nearly all the departments in the Phoenix and Gilbert Knitting Mills and four nationalities—Polish, Slavish. Austrian and Italian—walked out and poured into the streets to the sound of "The Marseillaise." The Americans stayed and scabbed.

The revolt was entirely spontaneous and most of the workers were uncertain what to do next, but a few of them knew. They appealed to the one organization that can handle such a situation—the I. W. W. Organizers Fillippo Bochino and Fred Hirsh came hurrying from Rochester and Schenectady respectively, and the battle was on.

The first few days were quietly spent in putting the strike on an organized basis, and then as the need for a good chairman for the strike committee became evident, Benjamin J. Legere, a fighting Socialist and graduate of the Lawrence school was sent for. Though he was just entering on a short vacation after several months of exhausting work agitating for the Ettor-Giovannitti defense, he arrived promptly. He showed the strikers how to form a mass picket line that moves in an endless chain and helped to get all the different committees in working order.

Robert A. Bakeman, a clergyman who, as he later expressed it in police court is "now an honest man," as a member of the street cleaning force in Schenectady, came up to speak to the strikers. He told the police that he intended to speak in the open air and no objection was made. But Chief of Police James Long soon afterward found occasion to visit the office of Manager McLaughlin of the Phoenix Mills and when the chief emerged it was with his club gripped in his hand. He ordered Bakeman off his soap box, and when Bakeman refused, he was arrested. George Lunn, Socialist Mayor of Schenectady, then came up to address the strikers and promptly got arrested, together with his wife. Other arrests followed thick and fast. Speakers were pulled off the box in Clinton Park, near the mills, while reading from the Constitution of the United States, from the Declaration of Independence and even from the Bible. Mayor Lunn declared



FIRST PARADE HELD ON DAY OF WALKOUT.

that he would rot in the city jails before he would yield his constitutional rights and stop speaking on the streets.

The fuss that followed, however, was not liked by the mill owners and the city authorities, and the free speech fight was soon won as far as Clinton Park was concerned.

But the strike went on. Very quietly. Too quietly. That mass picketing was dangerously effective and it became necessary to break it up. So Chief "Dusty," now "Bully" Long, ordered out his force of six regular men, augmented by a motley assortment of specials, detectives, plain-clothes men, and private guards, on the morning of October 30 and placed them near the door of the Phoenix Mills. Still nothing happened until, so the strikers say, Chief Long prodded a young girl in the breasts with his club. Repressed bitterness then burst forth. A general melee occurred in which strikers, men and women alike, were beaten senseless to the ground. Detective Kenney, from an Albany corporation, was cut slightly in the ear and rear pants, and two shots were fired, one of which struck Policeman Haley, a new member of the force, in the leg.

It was first announced that a girl had done the cutting of Kenney. Then it was Legere that did it. The detective is over six feet high and probably weighs close to 200 pounds. Legere is short and slight and friends who know the smiling boy, who used to write plays in Bridgeport, Conn., were astonished to hear him depicted as such a bloody and murderous character. The strikers say it was a bullet from the revolver of an agitated "special" that struck Haley, but the police contend it was Bochino, who is a foreigner and therefore a suspicious and dangerous character.

Shortly after this affair the strikers and the strike committee were holding a meeting in The Slovak Sokol Hall, the principal social center of the working population, when the door was thrown open with a crash and the police and hired guards burst in. Women, who composed the majority of the audience, were hurled right and left. Men who protested were struck on the head. Furniture was overturned. The musical instruments of the Slovak Band were broken and battered. One cop who happened to notice the framed charter of the local textile union of the Industrial Workers of the World, drove his club through the middle of it. It hangs in the hall now, its broken glass



SCHENECTADY SOCIALISTS ARRIVING TO TAKE PART IN FREE SPEECH FIGHT.

held together by an edging of red ribbon with a knot of red covering the hole made by the club. All the members of the strike committee and all persons suspected of being connected with the strike were arrested and dragged to the local lock-up, a place so vile that the State Prison Inspector has threatened the town with mandamus proceedings unless it is cleaned up.

Legere, however, could not be found. The building was searched for him and the police, not wishing to investigate the dark cellar, fired three shots into it at random, any one of which might have killed Legere had he not already been taken to a place of safety by a devoted band of workers. He went to Utica that night, got some needed printing done, sent off some messages, and then returned to Little Falls where he was immediately arrested and taken to the county jail at Herkimer, another place that has been condemned by the State Prison Inspector.

Bakeman, Hirsh, Bochino and George Vaughan of Schenectady, were already there, along with thirty-nine others, strikers and sympathizers. When visited later, some of them were still wearing the bloody shirts that they wore when arrested. They were joined by Miss Helen Schloss, a young Socialist woman of New York, who for several months had been a tenement investigator for a club of the well-to-do women of Little Falls. Despite warnings from her lady employers, Miss Schloss cast her lot with the strikers, gave up her position, joined the relief committee, and went out on the picket line with the workers. For this she incurred the enmity of the police and her spectacular arrest by Chief Long himself followed. She was put in Herkimer jail on a charge of "inciting to riot" and as a special honor was given the cell occupied by Chester Gillette, electrocuted for the murder of his sweetheart. She was finally released on bail and went right back to work in the relief kitchen.



FREE SPEECH MEETING HELD BY SOCIALISTS IN CLINTON PARK, LITTLE FALLS, N. Y.
Phoenix Mill on the Right.

The stories the strikers tell of their treatment by the police both before and after arrest cannot be told in print. There are any number of them who say that they were visited at night in their cells by the police and terribly beaten. They carry marks to show. One young boy, who later came to the relief kitchen but could not eat, told with starting eyes of a revolver held at his head by one police-

man while another wreaked vengeance upon him with a club. One ear, black with bruised blood, told the story. Women strikers fared little better. On the picket line they were daily greeted with obscenities and filthy remarks by a picked crew of special policemen.

It is worthy of mention here that five of these special policemen who carried brand new clubs and used them on the slightest excuse were members of the Jack Spinners Union of the United Textile Workers, with John Golden as president, a gentleman high in the councils of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Golden first gained fame by offering help to the police during the Lawrence strike. Other members of this union were so indignant at the spectacle of union men acting as strong-arm men for the bosses that they came over to a meeting of the strike committee and asked to be admitted to the I. W. W.

Despite all these things the spirit of the strikers remained untamed. The night after the raid on their hall they got out their battered musical instruments and played "The Marseillaise" and "The International" while all joined round and sang as if they had not just passed through a Russian pogrom. Nothing seemed to daunt them. The fiercer the assaults upon them the higher rose their songs of revolution. The darker seemed their prospects, the more intense became their devotion. A wonderful, wonderful band! No one who ever saw will ever forget them.

Though a little upset for the moment, those who remained unjailed or unbeaten sent out the word and help was soon coming. Next to arrive was Matilda Rabinowitz, a dark-eyed, magnetic little girl who knew not weakness or weariness till the strike was on its feet again. Mrs. Kruesi, Mrs. Wade and Mrs. Mullen, efficient women from Schenectady, came up to take charge of the relief and were soon feeding forty persons daily at a cost of seven cents each, besides passing out supplies for many families.



STRIKERS IN FRONT OF SLOVAK HALL, THEIR HEADQUARTERS, WHICH WAS RAIDED BY POLICE. Matilda Rabinowitz, Front Row, Fourth Figure from Left.

Meantime the respectable citizens of Little Falls entertained themselves by holding a mass meeting of protest against the hideous presence of the I. W. W. in their midst. Unanimously they voted approval of the firmness and moderation of the police!

Imagine their horror the next day when they learned their actions had merely served to bring the looming figure of Bill Haywood into the situation. The fright that was evident when the news got abroad was almost comic. But Bill brought nothing into the situation save peace and renewed confidence. Under his experienced counsel the new committees soon learned what to do and how to do it and spirits increased from day to day.

As this is written the strike is in its fifth week. Mayor Lunn refused to pay a $50.00 fine and has been sentenced to 50 days in jail. Owner Gilbert shows a disposition to settle but Manager McLaughlin, of whom not a citizen has been heard to speak a decent word, continues to hold out obstinately. Meantime the strikers must be provided for and Legere, Bochino, and the others, whom the authorities will make every effort to put into the penitentiary for a term of years, must be defended. The rancor of the city authorities and the mill owners against these men is poisonous. A dollar sent to Matilda Rabinowitz, Secretary Defense Committee, Little Falls, N. Y., will be a dollar well spent.





Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

"OUR GENE."

The Election

From all returns available at present, the outlook indicates that the Socialist party has more than doubled its vote of 1908 and is well on the way toward the million mark.

Never in the history of the Socialist movement in America have we had so much cause for rejoicing over the results of our regular four year showing.

This year it would seem that all things had combined to make clear the Socialist vote. Every Democrat rallied to his party. The Bull Moosers appropriated almost every reform plank from the Socialist platform so that every working man or woman who hoped for anything from reforms doubtless joined the Progressive constituency.

In spite of this, over 900,000 proletarians felt that their only hope lay in revolution and voted the straight Socialist ticket.

Fortunately for us the Progressive party is here to stay. It will steadily drain off the muddle-headed members of the dying middle class advocates of government ownership, leaving only a band of class conscious Socialists who can be depended upon.

For perhaps the first time in years the Socialist party vote was a clean-cut So-

cialist vote. For this reason there is everywhere rejoicing in the Socialist camps. We have put ourselves to the test and emerged with our Army augmented over 100 per cent.

The most encouraging signs in the election returns are the splendid showings made in the great industrial centers where the Socialist party has thrown all its strength into the daily warfare of the workers against the capitalist class. Compared to the districts where votes alone were made the ultimate goal, the industrial regions have outgeneraled them in almost every state.

In Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, where the Socialists are on the job every day fighting side by side with other workingmen, pointing out new methods of Class warfare in every strike and lending a hand in every struggle, the vote increased over THREE HUNDRED per cent the Socialists' polling being over 26,000 votes in the greatest industrial center in the world.

Pennsylvania, as a state, almost trebled her vote, showing that where the economic conflict is keen, the working class recognizes its natural place in the political field and joins the Socialist party.

Ohio, the second industrial state in the union, shows an almost equal gain in percentage. There, too, the members of the Socialist party and the workers in the industries are becoming more and more the same.

Their able candidate for governor, Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, was on the road continuously from July 1st to election day and we doubt if any other candidate can beat his record for number of successful meetings held.

Comrades Margaret Prevey of Akron and State Organizer Beery, besides an army of state speakers, covered the ground thoroughly.

The State Office supplied speakers with clean cut scientific literature and with the exception of one or two localities the campaign was an educational one throughout rather than a vote-catching proposition. In Columbus there was a loss of several thousand votes.

In Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma, where the party has steadfastly fought the battles of the farm laborers and farm renters, the splendid returns were no surprise to anybody, while West Virginia leaped into a militant position through the influx of the striking miners who have learned to apply Socialism to every-day life during their struggles with the mine owners.

Nevada and Montana showed remarkable gains. Here, too, the workers, becoming conscious of their class on the industrial field, reflect their interests on the political side. Authoritative reports are not yet in from Washington, Oregon, and California, but returns to date show solid increases in the straight vote.

Kansas sends her first Socialist representatives to the assembly and Illinois elected three assemblymen. Six were reelected in Wisconsin.

In many cases, Socialists failed of reelection to office. But we are not discouraged. We are learning that only a strong, class conscious movement on the industrial field can show class consciousness on the political field and insure permanent victory to the Socialist party.

Indiana, Kansas, Wisconsin and Minnesota polled nearly 200,000 votes. New York with a showing of 75,000 nearly doubled her vote of 1908. Michigan, New Jersey and Missouri made great gains.

The New York Sunday Call credits Washington with a 300 per cent increase and Oregon with 400 per cent. Wyoming, Utah and Idaho show a steady class conscious gain of nearly 100 per cent.

Florida was a surprise with 15,000 votes and the Louisiana vote of 7,500 was nearly ten times the vote of 1908. As the South develops industrially we may confidently expect to see the working class express itself politically in the Socialist party, when the struggle grows keen as it has in Louisiana.

In writing upon the results in Massachusetts, the New York Call says:

The vote is awful, yet the party organization seems to be sound. It seems to have grown. Twenty years ago, for Harry Robbinson, it polled very nearly as many votes as it did for Roland D. Sawyer. The first Presidential candidate, Simon W. Wing, came from that state. It was among the earliest to swing into line as an organized state. It was the first to elect a Socialist mayor. It had

Chase in Haverhill and Coulter in Brockton. Yet this year it makes the poorest showing of all the states. Its vote has dropped. Its organization seems to have been of no avail. In the big industrial towns from North Adams to the Cape it has lost votes. It has nothing to show for its work, in case any work was done.

It is quite evident that there has not been conducted an adequate campaign. The Comrades seem to be unable to do anything themselves and seem to be unwilling to allow anybody else to do anything. They neglected utterly the opportunity they had in the mill towns. They were entirely buffaloed by the presence in Boston of a cardinal. They have done no organization work in Fall River, New Bedford, Worcester or Springfield. The vote shows that they have failed all along the line. Why?

The Leader, the weekly organ of the Socialists of this city, gives the Massachusetts vote for Debs in the recent election as 12,435. Roland D. Sawyer, candidate for governor, received 10,500 votes.

There are still a few small towns missing, but returns from them will not alter the totals twenty votes either way.

The Debs vote of 1908 was 10,781 and that cast for governor two years ago, 14,444.

The Socialist vote in Massachusetts falls below the 3 per cent required by law to keep it alive—thus officially it has ceased to exist, but according to statements made by party officials today, the Bay State capitalists will soon find that it is very much alive.

New Mexico: O. W. Skorkowsky, Socialist Committeeman, of Portales, reports 200 Socialist votes in Rosevelt county and says: "We have a hard row to hoe down here, but we mean to fight to the finish. We have a local that is doing great work and we are making new Socialists fast."

California: J. Dahlstrom of Contra Costa county, running the second time for the Assembly, received 1,241 votes against 609 last time. The Debs vote was 1,297, nearly three times the 1908 vote. The women cast about one-third the vote. They are going to be a big help in the future Socialist movement.

Pennsylvania: L. W. Woods writes that Debs polled 1,464 votes in Erie, the county giving us 1,972 votes. The county vote for 1908 was 1,037. Congratulations to Erie.

Socialist Party Vote

	Official 1908	Estimated 1912
Alabama	1,399	2,600
Arkansas	5,842	12,000
California	28,659	80,000
Colorado	7,974	10,400
Connecticut	5,113	11,700
Delaware	240	500
Florida	3,747	15,000
Georgia	584	900
Idaho	6,400	7,800
Illinois	34,711	85,000
Indiana	13,476	35,000
Iowa	8,287	21,000
Kansas	12,420	33,000
Kentucky	4,185	6,000
Louisiana	2,538	7,500
Maine	1,758	2,500
Maryland	2,323	2,600
Massachusetts	10,781	**10,500**
Michigan	11,586	22,000
Minnesota	14,527	25,000
Mississippi	978	2,000
Missouri	15,431	28,000
Montana	5,855	12,000
Nebraska	3,524	10,000
Nevada	2,103	4,500
New Hampshire	1,299	1,700
New Jersey	10,253	20,000
New York	38,451	75,000
North Carolina	345	850
North Dakota	3,241	2,900
Ohio	33,795	83,292
Oklahoma	21,779	37.504
Oregon	7,339	**12,500**
Pennsylvania	33,913	101,000
Rhode Island	1,365	2,150
South Carolina	101	200
South Dakota	2,846	3,400
Tennessee	1,870	5,000
Texas	7,870	16,200
Utah	4,895	8,400
Vermont on state ticket.	547	800
Virginia	255	1,700
Washington	14,177	25,000
West Virginia	3,679	**15,000**
Wisconsin	28,164	55,000
Wyoming	1,715	2,300
Arizona	1,912	3,000
New Mexico	1,056	1,850
Total	424,488	922,246

PUBLIC SPEAKING

BY

FRANK BOHN



FRANK BOHN

I. Preparation

THIS course of study will be conducted in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for several months. It is intended primarily for those comrades who wish to speak or write on the subject of Socialism. We shall be pleased if it proves to be of interest to many who, while not looking forward to serving the party as writers or speakers, take up the work merely to broaden and deepen their knowledge of Socialism.

The course will consist not of lessons but of outlines for study. Text books will be used and references for reading given. It is taken for granted that those pursuing this course are familiar with Socialism as presented in our propaganda phamphlets.

No speaker should attempt to discuss Socialism who has not read The Communist Manifesto, by Marx & Engels; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Engels, and Value, Price and Profit, by Marx. All these books are published by the publishers of this magazine.

Ten years ago all the equipment required by the average Socialist soap-boxer was a loud voice and the courage to withstand volleys of stones and decayed fruit. That time has now passed. Our propaganda is being met by opponents of ability and real information. The public is asking questions which can not be answered by the relation of humorous stories. He who is not thoroughly familiar with the Socialist argument will serve the movement best by remaining silent. But a sound Socialist education can easily be secured. There is really no excuse for ignorance. Furthermore, any person of average ability who applies himself to the matter of public speaking as earnestly as he would go to work to learn a trade will succeed. Good public speakers are not born so. They are prepared by sound educational processes and experience. During the past campaign the Socialist party could have usefully employed at least three times as many speakers as it had at its disposal. During the next campaign we shall want organizers of ability in each county of the great industrial states. The Socialist Party should not depend for its speakers on those who come from the professional and middle classes. Our best speakers have sprung from the working class and to the working class we should look for future reinforcement.

During the first months we shall devote a portion of our space to outlining studies in economics, history and government. During the second period we shall emphasize primarily the means of preparation for practical work. In this we shall have the help of Prof. Henry Gaines Hawn of the Hawn School of the Speech Arts, New York City; of William E. Bohn, for several years Instructor in English at the University of Michigan, and of several of our

most able Socialist speakers and organizers. It is to be hoped that those who pursue this course of study will devote to it at least three study periods of two hours each week. In less time than this the work can not be done well.

Observe the Following:

Reserve your study periods and let nothing else take you from your work. For the coming months this is the most important part of your work for the cause.

Study alone or in very small groups. Large classes seldom succeed. Some members will come late or will not take the work seriously.

Walk briskly in the open air for fifteen minutes before beginning your evening's work.

Have a room by yourself, if possible, and keep it as cool as you can without catching cold.

Sit with your back to the light. If your head begins to ache or your eyes grow tired, stop and go to bed.

Have an English Dictionary always at hand. Never pass by a word without knowing its meaning. The words you can use properly measure your ideas. People who are "full of ideas they cannot express," are usually mistaken about the number and quality of their ideas.

While studying go over each paragraph again and again until you have fully mastered its meaning. Begin each period with a review of the reading of the preceding period.

Remember that you will find this course easy to begin but often hard to continue. This will be as good an occasion as any other to develop the will power necessary to effectual intellectual effort.

Finally, purchase the text books you use and keep them for future reference. Every Socialist should have a shelf filled with the best Socialist literature and to this he should be constantly making additions.

The First Text Book.

As our first text book we shall use SOCIALISM, ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME, by William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax. This invaluable work presents a general view of the whole historical process from ancient society to Socialism. It is the best general introduction to the whole subject of history and economics printed in any language. It is written in exquisite English. It will give you the Socialist point of view and furnish a sound basis for more profound studies. If you have already carefully read this work or finish it before the end of the month, either of the following are suggested; Enrico Ferri's "Socialism and Modern Science," or Labriola's "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History."

When you have finished "SOCIALISM, ITS GROWTH AND OUTCOME," write, for your own criticism, answers to the following questions:

What is meant by the expression Economic Interpretation of History or Materialistic Conception of History?

How many economic systems have developed in western Europe and America? Describe each.

What is the difference between Utopian Socialism and Scientific Socialism?

Beginning next month we shall take up the study of the economic and political history and government of the United States. Secure at once Bogart's Economic History of the United States and also any good high school text book of United States history to use as a supplementary volume. Probably you can borrow such a volume from some comrade whose children have attended high school. If you must purchase a second volume of United States history, let it be Channing's "History of the United States for High Schools and Colleges." For Bogart's economic history there is no adequate substitute. If two pursue the course together they might purchase the books jointly.

Note: "Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome," by Morris & Bax, may be obtained from Kerr & Company. Its price is 50 cents. Bogart's "Economic History of the United States" retails for $1.75 and is published by Longmans, Green & Co., 91 Fifth avenue, New York. If there is no book store in your town from which you can order it, send direct to the publishers.

MORALS IN RUBBER

BY

MARY E. MARCY

Photos by Paul Thompson, N. Y.



RUBBER GATHERERS OF BRAZIL.

WE are growing very suspicious these days. Whenever we hear of one of the Great Powers rushing an army and sending battle ships to attack some one of the lesser countries in the name of a great moral movement, we wonder who is out to grab some big concession.

We remember how England, in the blessed name of civilization and the "protection of her native sons," entrenched herself in India and killed off the Indian native manufacturing industries. We recall the Crusade of the Great Nation that sent her troops into far-away South Africa, spurred on by alleged atrocities perpetrated by the Boers against the down-trodden natives—and gobbled up the priceless gold and diamond mines there. How often, Oh, how often have the rich nations sent their armies into the Orient "to protect their missionaries" and planted the home flag permanently, while they picked out everything valuable in sight?

Even when our own hearts bled for the wrongs committed against the Cubans by the ruthless Spaniards, and we marched to "free Cuba," we sent American battleships to seize Spanish islands in the Pacific and established a national coaling station in the Philippines, not to mention the many rich crumbs that fell to already overloaded individual tables.

It is all these events, these wars, these killings—in the name of God and home and country or some other moral sophistry spouted in press and pulpit, that have taught us to look behind the scenes when we hear "statesmen" and editors embarking on a great moral campaign. We have grown suspicious. We always wonder what the pie is and whom it is going to be divided amongst. We expect ulterior motives when the armies march forth with flying banners bearing the proud sentence, "For God and Country." This usually means something like Rockefeller and Guggenheim." We are frankly skeptical when we find men spending money to protect the lives and limbs of unknown, distant black natives out of sheer goodness of heart.

We see men killed on the home railroads without the upsetting of a single church. We know of thousands of men being killed yearly in the mines of their own countries without a single capitalist newspaper dar-

ing to raise its voice in protest. And many of us have sought, in vain, to arouse a spark of enthusiasm against child labor at home, in the same men who shed tears and ink so copiously in the cause of the mistreated native that inhabits the jungle.

It seems to us that behind all this decrying and exposing, this marching and killing, these pages of vituperation and appeals to the imagination, there is always a strong Something to be gained by Somebody. We see somebody's economic *interests* are to be served. In fact, we find the great patriots and the great moral propagandists are nearly always on the job for lands or mines, or railway concessions. They are not waging the campaign for a great public awakening for nothing. There is always something in it for them.

And so we read pages and pages of hysterical exposures of the barbaric treatment of the Putumayo natives by the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company with apathy. We wonder whether the tales of torture are true or whether some wily politician or multi-millionaire is trying to secure valuable rubber concessions. We wonder whether the campaign against the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company may not be started for the purpose of handicapping a successful competitor who is forcing down the price of rubber in the world market.

Several years ago a disclosure of certain hideous cruelties practiced in the rubber district of the Putumayo, Eastern Peru, were made by Sir Roger Casement. This was the British Government officer who, some years before, had startled the world with a report of atrocities in the Congo. He had been sent to investigate in Peru. His report was submitted to the British Foreign Secretary in January, 1911, and is only now made public. The report was calmly suppressed for almost two years. All this time government officials knew



RUBBER GATHERERS ON THE UPPER AMAZON.

that unarmed and inoffensive natives were being butchered and killed in the Putumayo district and nobody ever thought of raising his voice in protest. There was no stimulus, no great mines, or diamond fields in sight to reward the protector of the oppressed. But now all is changed. Statesmen who had long smothered their consciences, diplomats, who had been too much occupied with affairs of state, clergymen and editors who had neglected their duty, were all suddenly stricken with remorse. Each and all rushed to the press or the platform to demand a cessation of the cruelties being perpetrated by the notorious Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company in the Putumayo district.

These Indian natives are a mild and peaceful people split up into a number of tribes. Their mode of life is still primitive. The bow and arrow is still the most common weapon. The forest affords abundant material for the building of comfortable thatched huts, which are usually large and roomy. Food is to be had in plenty the year round for the gathering. Fruits of many kinds grow plentifully and there are always wild nuts of innumerable variety.

Dwelling in a land of plenty, at peace with their neighbors, surrounded by the beloved forest, it is to be readily doubted that the Putumayo Indians should willingly assume the yoke of a white boss without pressure of some menacing sort being brought to bear upon them.

It is the crying need for food, and clothing and a house to live in, that forces workingmen and women to sell themselves to work for a boss for wages. The natives in Peru had no such needs. It is but to be expected that some sort of physical coercion was used in Peru. Where land is free, food abundant, shelter available and clothing still a matter of ornament, men and women are practically free economically. It is the private ownership of land, food, clothing and houses that makes slaves of the non-owners. They are forced to work for wages to get money to buy these necessities.

Everywhere we find that capitalism on invading "uncivilized" lands, either grabs up the land and other natural resources, so that the natives are forced to find jobs in order to live, or the "civilized" intruders command the "heathen" by physical violence.

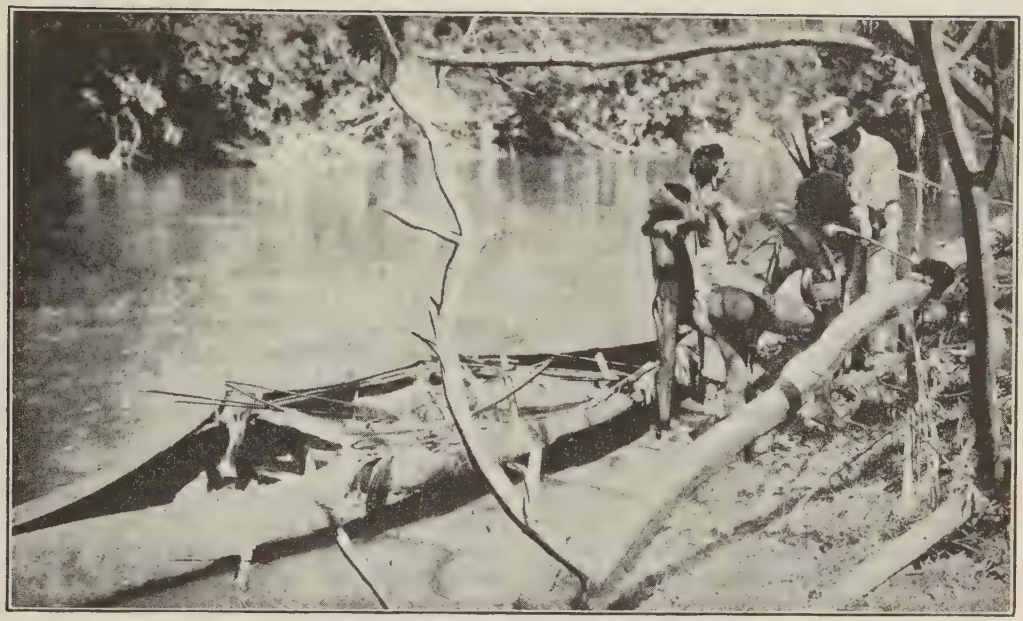
Collecting rubber is very hard work. Natives are driven into the forest whence they dare not return without bringing back the required amount of rubber under dire penalty. They must go through fever invested swamps, risking life and limb, in danger every moment from attacks of the beasts of the jungle. Through the long nights, alone and unprotected, the natives must hide in brush or trees ever on the alert to avoid unknown and unseen enemies.

The most careful tapping of trees gives only about twenty pounds of rubber per full grown tree, a year. Often a native will be compelled to search through several miles of forest to find a few trees. Cups must be placed before the gashes or openings cut in the tree trunks and the yield must be collected every day till the flow ceases.

In the Putumayo District natives were ordered to report every two weeks with



TAPPING A RUBBER TREE.



CANOES USED TO TRANSPORT RUBBER.

their rubber supply. The sap is treated promptly in order to insure preservation.

Natives were originally promised from $9.00 to $15.00 per one hundred pounds of prepared rubber, "according to its quality." This naturally left a great deal to the sense of justice (?) of the rubber company.

In the Putumayo District the Amazon Rubber Company possessing a monopoly for the sale of merchandise to the natives, was in a particularly happy situation. Rubber gatherers were refused payment in cash and compelled to accept company goods in exchange.

Since it is more than even the minds of educated men may do to solve the mysteries of high finance, it is hardly to be expected that the Peruvian Indians should be able to comprehend the intricacies of company bookkeeping. Hence it is not strange that the natives—as a result of this system—found themselves indebted to the company.

In such cases the rubber company seized the Putumayoans, taking them forcibly from their villages and transporting them to points where laborers were scarce. Many tribes have preferred to abandon their territories and move long distances across the equatorial jungle rather than be set to work by the rubber merchants.

It is reported that the English Rubber Company is solely responsible for the atrocities committed on natives in the Putumayo District. Sir Roger Casement declares that rubber gatherers have been subjected to tortures that baffle description, that arms and feet as well as ears and heads have been lopped off. Men and women have been burned alive and their children beheaded in a single bloody debauch by the rubber merchants. Thousands have been maimed and murdered with impunity.

To quote from the *Review of Reviews:*

"It may be only a coincidence, but the recent outburst of indignation in England took place five or six days after the Brazilian National Congress had voted an appropriation of $2,500,000 for carrying out a rubber valorization scheme similar to the coffee valorization. Brazil produces about 50 per cent of the world's supply of rubber. The value of the Putumayo rubber forests is therefore increasing very rapidly.

"The Peruvian Amazon Company has no legal title to the Putumayo tract, having never paid a cent to the Peruvian Government."

It looks very much to us as though some great syndicate was getting ready to seize the Putumayo lands in the name of the tortured natives of Peru. We wonder how it will stimulate a passionate fervor in the breasts of the Indians for rubber gathering!

THE VICTORY OF THE LUMBER JACKS

By COVINGTON HALL

THE contention of "the State of Louisiana," alias the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, in the trial of Emerson and his associates was that they were guilty of "conspiracy to murder" because, practically, had they not organized the Forest and Lumber Workers' Union and held public meetings in defiance of the wishes of the Sawdust Ring, then the Lumber Trust would not have been compelled to pull off the "riot" at Grabow, nobody would have been killed and "law and order," alias peonage, would not have been disturbed in this satrapy of the plunderbund that is marked off on the map of the United States of North America and dignified with the name of the "sovereign State of Louisiana." Not Arthur L. Emerson and his eight associates, not the nine men who had been picked out as the ones the Lumber Trust would most like to see adorned with rope cravats, were on trial. The *real* thing on trial, the *real* issue at stake, *was the right of labor to organize and strike.* This was the storm center around which the whole trial swung and, had "the state" won its contention, had the jury accepted its idea of "conspiracy," to prove which it was allowed to offer in "evidence" hearsay and common gossip of the grossest kind, the Plunderbund would have succeeded in forcing from the courts the decision it has been working to secure for some time,—*a decision annulling the right of labor to organize and strike,*—and this decision it will yet secure from the courts unless labor unites and delivers battle all along the line. As a matter of fact, the main thing that saved the lives and liberties of the men on trial was the hostile solidarity shown toward the prosecution by the working men and working farmers throughout this section; this and Judge Hunter's savage attacks on the Burns Detective Agency, which made these social carrion-crows and body-snatchers of the Plunderland extremely cautious in their work of greasing ropes for the Lumber Trust. As to the role of these detectives, I thoroughly agree with Ed. Lehman when he asked St. John to tell Haywood this: "Since my experience with detectives, I think you are too damned complimentary in your remarks on them." A scab is not the lowest on earth and will not be the only ghoul locked out of hell,—below him stands the gunman, the kept writer, the militiaman and the detective, things with souls of mud, with harpy hearts, with brains grown so leperous they would pander their father's honor and their mother's virtue for a price less than that for which Judas sold Jesus to the Longs and Kirbys in the days of old.

One remarkable thing that stood out sharp and clear all during the trial was, as Judge Hunter stated, this: "The State of Louisiana was nothing but a spectator in the trial." Congressman A. P. Pujo of the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, who sneered in open court at "an imaginary constitution," the lumberjacks dubbed Pujo, "the persecuting attorney," —was leading counsel for "the state," directed the prosecution (?) and tried the unionists for sedition to the Sawdust Ring, of which he, Pujo, chairman of the Democratic committee now "investigating (?) the money trust," is a shiney star of the first magnitude, it is said.

All the "sensations" promised by Burns were sprung in the trial, only the springing was done by the defense, much to the discomfort of the brilliant brains directing the persecution, so, to get even, they went out and had organizers Clarence Edwards, C. L. Filigno and E. F. Doree arrested and bullpenned for "attempting to intimidate and bribe witnesses," *this* when we hardly had enough money to buy grub with, *this* when Burns' detectives not only threatened prisoners with the penetentiary if they did not "confess," but had assaulted organizer Ezra Moss and threatened others of us with personal violence, *this* when the man who attempted to assassinate Creel, and who acknowledged his crime, had been turned

loose by the same grand jury that gave a clean bill of health to all the sawmill owners and their gunmen and indicted Emerson and 57 other unionists for "murder in the first degree" on account of the Grabow "riot." Such examples of "impartial justice" undoubtedly have greatly increased the "respect," "reverence" and "confidence" the common people must have in the courts if we are ever to approach on this old earth "that state which exists in Heaven under a just God," as Willie Howard Taft has so well said, or something like it.

In the meantime, while we are receiving congratulations on our victory from all sides, the Lumber Trust notifies us through its papers that it intends to double the number of gunmen and to stockade all its towns while the company that owns Bogalusa, La., a town of 5,000 or more people, has already established a private police force and a private court of its own, so, let all their friends and fellow-workers know that this fight is just begun and that the fighting lumberjacks of Dixie still need the helping hand of the world's rebellious slaves. They are still crying, these forestmen of the south: "All for one and one for all! On with the One Big Union!" Clan of Toil, awaken! Rebels of the world, arise!

The Outcast

BY REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.

They would not hear him. How they smiled
That he, who talked with courtesans,
Who said: "Be led as by a child,"
Who supped with low-browed publicans,
Should dare to preach! A hare-brained boor,
A rustic in a city stew!
They could not listen—that was sure—
They could not listen then; can you?

And when he turned to violence,
Assaulting brokers—men of peace—
The priests themselves, in self-defense,
Surrendered him to the police. . . .
A sweat-stained working-man to them,
They jeered him up the hill of death:
This carpenter of Bethlehem,
Jesus, this chap from Nazareth.

What has been shall be; so today
In strict accordance with the law
We hoot the jay and turn to slay:
We send our Christs to Golgotha,
Where rotting hovels bring the rents,
Where there is darkness and disgrace,
Where there are "model tenements,"
We keep the rascals in their place.

And so—in children bleached by toil,
In working-women starved to shame,
In farm-hands fettered to the soil,
In trades you scarcely dare to name,
In shop and office, mine and mill,
With bloody brow and riven side,
With hands that wrought your safety—still
Writhes Labor, crowned and crucified.

SOCIALIST TACTICS

BY

CHARLES A. RICE

I.

FOREWORD.

THE Social Democratic political movement in both hemispheres in its ultra-parliamentarian form is usually referred to as pure-and-simple parliamentarianism because it lays undue stress on the ballot and the parliamentary activity of the political representatives of the workers as the sole or the principal effective method for forcing radical economic reform and for attaining the final emancipation of the proletariat from wage slavery through the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment and further development of Socialism.

Our own brand of this pure-and-simplism has a "possibilistic" "constructivistic" halo about it, since its exponents are fond of dubbing the left wing of our party "impossibilists," while they themselves frequently parade as "constructive" Socialists. Pure-and-simple builders they are or aspire to be, but of what? Of reformistic air-castles, perhaps, misnamed "practical Socialism?" What do they, at bottom, stand for? European pure-and-simplism, as well as our own variety, stands, broadly speaking, for a definite conception of political action on the part of the proletariat in the traditional sense. This traditional political action dogma demands that the workers organize in a political party, participate in political campaigns, elect their candidates to office for the purpose of wrangling with the political henchmen of capitalism in the effort to force from them "administrative reforms along Socialist lines," as formulated by "section six" of our party constitution. This gradual "possibilistic" office-holding and legislative wrangling goes on until it finally captures the state, expropriates the capitalists (or buys them out, according to some of our "constructivists") of the rest of the means of production and distribution not as yet expropriated (or bought out) by previous "constructivist" effort, and puts on the finishing touches to the work of transforming capitalism into the Socialist commonwealth.

To be sure, there are many other minor features, issues and demands in the platforms of the various Socialist parties, especially in western and eastern Europe, such as the abolition of standing armies and their substitution by a democratically-organized militia, disarmament, abolition of the tariff on foodstuffs, a graduated income tax, municipalization of public utilities, political autonomy or home rule for the various nationalities within some of the European countries. But the above outline of pure-and-simple political actionism is fully adequate as a preliminary draft.

Now this pure-and-simplist "constructivism" and its inherent tactics are gradually approaching a more or less acute stage in their development. A new departure, a new point of view, a deep sense of unrest, and a seeking for new light in Socialist thinking and action are making themselves felt, slowly but irresistibly, within the Socialist and labor movement all over the world. The various Socialist parties, our own included, are facing this recent development in a double aspect. On the one hand, the radical wings within those parties feel the imperative need of "revision to the left," the need for a critical overhauling and stock-taking of the traditional tactical dogmas and slogans of the social-democratic movement, a revaluation of the tactical values that have held their sway over the class-conscious proletariat for over forty years, the need for probing to the bottom the theory and practice of pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism, its basic principles and what has been accomplished by it as far as the vital needs of the working class are concerned. The second aspect of this new tendency is constructive in the true revolutionary sense of the word. Its aim is to sift out the best there is in parliamentary Socialism, free it of the

non-revolutionary chaff, and develop it further along lines that are more in harmony with Marxist principles on one side and the intrinsic proletarian character of the international Socialist movement on the other. The revolutionary minorities within the Socialist parties are seeking for *new* light in conjunction with the best there is in the old light so as to help build up a truly proletarian Socialist movement, efficient in the present and capable of leading the working class to ultimate triumph in the future.

But we must get nearer home. This new wave of revolutionary revision has also reached our shores. At the Indianapolis Socialist Party Convention two great antagonistic currents came to the surface: The current of "possibilistic" or reformistic constructivism represented by the majority of the delegates on one side and a revolutionary drift of proletarian industrialist Socialism represented by about one-third of the delegates on the other. The two forces clashed and finally came to terms in a sorry and bungling patchwork of compromise both in the platform and in the party constitution. It was a *historical* clash at a *historical* convention, giving birth to a *historical* document representing a sort of truce between the two warring forces. They are to be regarded as historical because they mark a turning point in the development of American Socialism. This parti-colored document seemingly attempts to voice a wide range of tendencies in the Socialist movement, from left to right, from Marxian Socialism of the preamble and the vague allusions to industrial unionism, through various shades of middle-class reformism, down to the extreme bourgeois right of the notorious section six of the party constitution. For a detailed analysis of this whole document and especially of this section we refer the reader to a subsequent chapter.

Suffice it here to say that the conservative reformistic tendencies of the majority found their most forcible, if not the most lucid and coherent, expression in this document as well as in all the proceedings of the convention itself. Here the majority's tendencies have reached their climax in the above-mentioned section six, in which our brand of "constructivistic" pure-and-simplism has boldly and frankly thrown overboard all its pretended Marxism and the whole proletarian revolutionary character of the Socialist movement, landing head over heels in the quagmire of bourgeois aspirations and slogans. As will be shown further down, the whole character of the platform and the constitution as far as they clearly reflect the tendencies of the majority warrants the assumption that the document, whether the majority were conscious of it or not, is essentially an appeal to and a bid for the vote of the lower layers of the middle class, the small farmers, and the "aristocracy" of labor in the craft unions of the A. F. L. persuasion.

We see, then, where the majority of the party as represented at the convention stands. Whether the majority of the delegates really voiced the *clear* stand of the *actual majority of the party membership,* is quite another question to be discussed later on; but we assume this to be the case at this stage of our discussion. The rightward swing of this majority seems to be definite and unmistakable. In this case a host of perplexing questions surge up before us and press for adequate answers. Does the party stand on the bed-rock of Marxism? If so, how does this unmarxian right-about tack tally with its Marxistic basis? Has the party ever stood on such a basis? If so, how are we to account for this swerving to the right? What forces have brought it about? How far is the pure-and-simplist *credo* (dogma) responsible for it? What connection, if any, is there between our pure-and-simplist "constructivism" to the right and its manifestations in the Socialist movement of western Europe?

And what about the revolutionary minority of our party? Has it a definite stand and what is it? What has given rise to this minority? Is there any vital bond between it and the radical wings in the Socialist parties of western Europe? At the Indianapolis Convention the tendencies more or less clearly represented by the minority of the delegates received an almost complete setback or were totally suppressed. The minority did some valiant skirmishing, but got very scant recognition at the hands of the majority in the form of some feeble and remote hints made at the preamble and in the resolution on organized labor as to the desirability of a more compact form of the economic organization of labor cap-

able of resisting the aggressions of capitalism. But the general stand of this minority was rather ill-defined. Though its members were quite numerous, potentially aggressive, and highly intelligent, the minority as a whole suffered from theoretical chaos, lack of clearness as to general principles and lack of cohesion of concentrated and organized effort in its battle with the majority. This lack of clearness and force on the part of the minority out of all proportion to its numerical and intellectual strength and fighting mettle at the convention does not by any means accurately gauge the actual strength of the minority within the party membership in general. The above weakness was only a transitory symptom pointing to the fact that the tendencies voiced by the minority of the delegates are comparatively a recent growth within the American Socialist movement. This young infant is bound to shoot up rapidly into lusty youth and stalwart manhood, gather revolutionary sap, grit, and cohesion on one side, theoretical clearness, depth of insight, solidity of principle, and maturity of judgment on the other.

To speed up this growth, to help nurse this tender babe into brawny and virile maturity, the minority must go through some preliminary washing and dressing. It must strive to get rid of the chaotic state in its theoretical make-up; the views and tendencies, principles and aims that so far unconsciously underlie its whole attitude as a minority must be sifted, clarified and organized into a consistent whole. The minority must know its own origin, whence it came, and where it goes. This work must be done from the bottom up. In western Europe, thanks to the splendid press facilities of the Socialist parties themselves and of the Socialist labor movement as a whole, all shades and tendencies in the parties find excellent opportunities for self-expression, for thorough-going intelligent discussion and further elaboration. We, of the minority here have not, outside of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, the remotest approach to the opportunities accessible to our European comrades. Therefore, all comrades of the rank and file who feel and think with the minority, must collect their brain efforts so as *to work out and agree upon the fundamental principles underlying proletarian revolutionary Socialist ideals and tactics* and assume a definite stand on all the basic issues within the Socialist movement.

It is only after we have made clear to ourselves who we are and what we stand for that we shall be in a position to take up and should take up the next step in our work. Having worked out a definite stand and developed sufficient cohesion and grit, we shall be in good working trim to forge ahead and shall have the means to launch a campaign of education among the rest of the party membership. This preliminary work of self-education and self-clarification must begin at once. Comrades all over the country ready for this work should organize into small clubs for discussing Socialist tactics, the problems of industrial unionism and its relation to political action. As this movement grows, it will feel the need of adequate public expression, that is the need of a suitable press and other mediums for propaganda and education. The further practical steps will then readily suggest themselves, but meanwhile the preliminary work of self-education must be vigorously pushed. In connection with this we should keep in mind the great truth that *no minority can ever hope to become the majority or even be instrumental to any extent in modifying the principles and tactics adopted by that majority unless the work is carried on in the spirit of a minority,* that is unless the *propaganda of the minority is conducted within the bounds of the party in question, without any appeal to means and agencies outside of and inimical to that party, with loyalty to it, without any attempts at splits, and, as far as possible, without any friction with the comrades of the majority.*

Our work will and must, of course, be tentative at first and incomplete, since we are seeking for new light on issues that are at once very complex and covering a wide range of matters affecting the past and present of the Socialist and the labor movement of the world; but this consideration should not deter us from our work, since every great and earnest effort is experimental at first, slowly groping its way, unsteady and halting; then the gait becomes firmer and gathers momentum and swing as it advances, the view getting clearer and wider, until the goal is reached and the patient work is crowned with complete success.

The following chapters, therefore, are to be regarded as a tentative effort to arrive at the fundamental principles above referred to after a careful study of the past and present of pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism, its tactical tenets and its tendencies, and their effects upon the whole Socialist and labor movement. The task of working out the stand of the minority will be greatly facilitated after the above questions as to the character of the majority of our party have found their adequate answers in the preliminary historical review just mentioned.

We hope that this effort may serve as a basis for thorough discussion and further elaboration on the part of revolutionary comrades within the party.

II.

The Origin and Meaning of Pure-and-Simple Political Actionism.

The conception of political action of the proletariat in its struggle for its own final emancipation and that of all humanity from the thraldom of the capitalistic system with its wage slavery and all its inherent social evils, that is the scheme of pure-and-simple parliamentary action as briefly outlined at the beginning of Chapter I of this paper—is held by the middle-class and craft-union elements of the Socialist parties all over the world and especially on the European continent in so far as those parties are dominated by their parliamentary fractions. This adherence to the above tactical dogma is especially strong in Germany, where the Marxistic center of the Social Democracy with Kautsky at the intellectual fore-front had stood, up to 1904, orthodox sponsor for this pure-and-simple *credo* in its pristine purity.

We all, whether majority or minority, stand on the bed-rock of *scientific* Socialism—the only kind of Socialism worthy of the name and of any consequence to the proletariat. We have nothing to do with any spurious brands under various names posing as Socialism. Now *scientific* Socialism is unthinkable without Marxism, the coherent system of sociological and economic laws and principles as worked out by Marx and Engels. The upholders of the above pure-and-simple parliamentary *credo* as scientific Socialists claim that this *credo* is based on Marxism. Let us, then, closely look into the validity of this claim and see "what thereat is."

The salient points of Marxism may be summed up in its three cardinal divisions: 1. *Historical materialism or the materialist conception of history,* often erroneously called *economic interpretation of history* and sometimes referred to as *economic* determinism. 2. *The theory of the class struggle.* 3. *Marxian economics.*

The two first doctrines, that is *the materialist conception of history* and *the class struggle theory,* are usually and briefly stated together as a coherent whole. To quote Engels (preface to the Communist Manifesto, German edition, 1883): "In every historical epoch, the economic production (*that is the mode of production and exchange.* Translator) and the social organization necessarily following from it form the basis upon which is built up the political and intellectual history of that epoch, accordingly all history (since the dissolution of primitive communal ownership of land) has been the history of class struggles, struggles between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes at the different stages of social evolution; this struggle, however, has now reached a stage in which the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot emancipate itself from (*the rule of.* Translator) the class—the bourgeoisie—that exploits and oppresses it without, at the same time and once for all emancipating all society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles."

For the purposes of our analysis, however, it will be best to treat these two fundamental historical doctrines separately so as to bring out more clearly their bearing on the pure-and-simple political actionist dogma. 1. According to historical materialism, all *written* history can be understood only, *in the final analysis,* by considering as the basis the *economic structure* of a given epoch—slavery, feudalism, or capitalism—that is the mode of production and exchange of the means of life prevalent in that epoch.

There are, of course, other *material* forces greatly affecting individuals as well as societies, such as climate, geographical position, the character of the soil, and other cosmic, geologic, and geographical forces and agencies. But these forces are more

or less constant and so cannot account for social *change*. In primitive tribal society, as, for instance, among the Iroquois and other North American Indians, based on the common ownership of the means of subsistence (land and primitive implements for hunting, fishing, etc.), the *reproduction of life*, that is race and family ties and relation have been the determining factor. But with the dissolution of primitive communal society, the appearance of private property, the monogamic family and the state, the racial or life-breeding factor steps to the historical background. Of all *social* factors, then, the economic factor becomes, in *the last analysis, the* ultimate determining factor shaping social life. "The ultimate causes of social changes and political revolutions are to be sought (Engels, Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science, 1891, p. 25), not in the *heads* of men, in their growing insight into eternal verities and justice, but in the changes in the mode of production and exchange, not in the *philosophy*, but in the *economics* of the given epoch."

In other words, the form of social organization, that is the state and the family, as well as the kind of organic laws, political and civic institutions, ethical standards and morals, organized religious conceptions (the church), and even the general trend in philosophy and art,—or briefly, the *ideology*—prevalent in a given stage of social evolution is, in the main, the result of the material conditions of life prevalent in that stage, that is the result of the way the means of life are produced, exchanged, and as a consequence, the way those means are distributed among the *various classes* in that society consequent upon that mode of production and exchange. In short, the *ideology* in a given epoch of history or in a given society or *class* depends on and reflects the economic basis of that society or class. Similarly, any radical change or transition, peaceful or revolutionary, gradual or proceeding at a more rapid rate, in the ideology of a whole epoch, society or class *reflects*, more or less consciously, the economic change that had already taken place *previous* to the ideological change.

Now, is there anything in this doctrine to bear out the pure-and-simplist dogma? None whatever. Historical materialism implies rather the contrary assumption that the proletarians as an economic class, must be *organized* as a class, that is at the point of production, in order to bring about a radical change in their economic status as producers before this change can be reflected politically, that is, the proletariat must first achieve in its own productive field, and as a whole economically organized class, sufficient economic power and consequent control of industry, and only then will it be in a position to give this economic fact its final expression through the political acts of formally expropriating the capitalist class.

Let us apply the test of historical materialism to our working class and we shall see at once how untenable from this viewpoint the tactics advocated by pure-and-simplism are. Ninety-eight per cent of our workers are totally unorganized. The rest (with a few exceptions) are organized in craft-unions totally unable to cope with consolidated capital and the automatic machine process. Most of the workers are steeped in bourgeois prejudice, fettered by bourgeois habits of thinking and feeling with their brains church-shackled and an easy prey to the sky-piloting end of capitalism. Not only have they no initiative in the productive process, but their say as to wages and hours of work is more nominal than real, while as to safety to life and limb, and sanitary arrangements in the shop, the workers have no say at all. In the field of consumption the American proletariat is far more impotent than are the workers in western Europe with their strong co-operative movement. Can a proletariat, at present *economically* so *impotent*, develop a *political class* movement? Or can any political movement already in the field and claiming to have that character pretend to *reflect* the *economic* class struggle and the *economic power* of our proletariat? Can a Socialist political organization reflect what largely does not exist as yet? Can a political movement presumably proletarian *forestall* and run ahead of an economic movement which has hardly outgrown its nursery stage? An affirmative answer to this question is a flat denial of historical materialism.

2. *The Class Struggle*. Primitive society was based on the common ownership

of land and all other means of procuring subsistence and shelter known to prehistoric man. This communal society was organized into groups based on blood kinship, that is the *gens* (clan) and the *tribe* as found among the North American Indians and the ancient Germans. It knew neither the state, nor the monogamic family, nor any other institution based on the economics of private property, and had no class divisions and, consequently, no economic or political strifes and class conflicts. This simplest stage in social evolution, therefore, had no history proper. With the increase in wealth consequent upon the higher development in the mode of acquiring the means of life, with the growth of population, and the rise of private property, the communal or tribal organization gradually broke down, giving way to class divisions and the state.

This marks the beginning of history proper, written history. From the most remote antiquity of which there is any record down to our own time history, in its main outlines, is a long chain of conflict, strife and war between class and class, between the oppressors and the oppressed, the exploiters and the exploited. This constant class warfare, more or less acute, more or less prolonged, had, up to the rise of the modern bourgeoisie and the proletariat, assumed various forms and disguises. The very origin of Christianity itself was indirectly and directly a class struggle on a gigantic world-wide scale; it was the religious expression or reflection of the revolt of the slaves and all other exploited masses in the Roman empire against pagan slaveholding plutocracy.

But whatever the form or disguise, the class struggle was always at bottom a struggle of oppressed classes or nations in their age-long efforts to throw down the economic-political domination of the ruling class or nation that exploited and oppressed them and to achieve economic-political supremacy themselves. Such was the struggle in the ancient world of slaves against their slave lords, or of the free peasants and artisans against the Athenian or Roman plutocracy; such were the conflicts and warfare all through the middle ages of serfs against their feudal lords, of the burgers, the guilds, and other sections of the embryonic town bourgeoisie against the feudal barons, the feudal church, and the feudal system as a whole.

With the rise of modern capitalism in its higher stages begins the great world-wide struggle of the modern proletariat against the individual employers, then against the various sections of the capitalist class, and finally against capitalism itself. The final aim of this class struggle under capitalism is the overthrow of the capitalist system itself and its transformation into Socialism.

Now, neither does the theory of the class struggle itself as scientifically worked out by Marx and Engels imply, nor has it ever been shown by any other Marxist of note that the class struggle at any historical epoch *had ever begun* by *political action.* Quite the contrary was always true. In every case where an oppressed or exploited class, social group, or nationality rose against the ruling class or group of oppressors or exploiters, the struggle for supremacy began to assume a political aspect, that is the aspect of making a dash for the powers of the state, *only in the very final stages* of the struggle.

It was only after the under-dog in the social scale had, in the course of economic evolution, reached a sufficient level of economic power, economic cohesion and organization, and became conscious of his class interests, than he began to stir politically, organize into a politically militant body, and contend for the helm at the government end of the game. This was especially the case in the great age-long battle carried on between the rising bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy from the close of the middle ages down to the French revolution.

True, as the dictum of the Communist Manifesto has it, "Every class struggle is a *political* struggle," but this political struggle does not, by any means, *only* or even to any considerable extent, mean *politics* or action at the polls, especially as laid down in our "section six." Every great upheaval of a whole class *as a class* for capturing the powers of the state, by *whatever means,* either for utilizing those powers, modifying them, or altogether abolishing them, is in itself a *political* act. When the plebeians (the artisans and other lower layers of the Roman citizens), in 494

B. C., in contending for their share in the republican government and smarting under the severe laws against debtors, quit Rome in a body and threatened to found a new city, they carried out a political act.

Every general strike is a political act. The reservists in Russia refusing to report to the barracks during the Russo-Japanese War and the *Dukhobory* (a Russian sect) refusing, as a body, to pay taxes and serve in the army, engaged in political actions of a negative sort. The proletariat of Vienna demonstrating in the streets and attacking private property so as to force universal suffrage or to compel the Reichsrath (parliament) to abolish the custom duties on imported foodstuffs, carried out a political act. Every meat and rent strike is a political strike.

In short, political action can, did, and does assume a great variety of forms that lie outside of the ballot or parliamentary wrangles. The above dictum of the Manifesto rather means that the class struggle *as such* is in its very nature *political,* since its final aim and outcome is the invasion of the state so as to utilize it for the purpose of bringing about radical social changes in their *final* and *formal* stage or for destroying the existing state altogether.

Again, the political aspect itself that the class struggle all through history ever assumed was anything but parliamentary. The frequent political upheavals in ancient Greece, Judea, in the Roman Empire, or in medieval Europe, such as the peasant uprisings, the protracted feuds of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines in Italy and Germany, the long struggle in the XVIIth century between the rising puritanic bourgeoisie under Cromwell, the Pugachov uprisings in Russia, and the old landed aristocracy—all these and many other historic class conflicts were violent upheavals of great masses, organized or unorganized, bloody encounters, real warfare between a class of oppressors and the class or group oppressed or exploited.

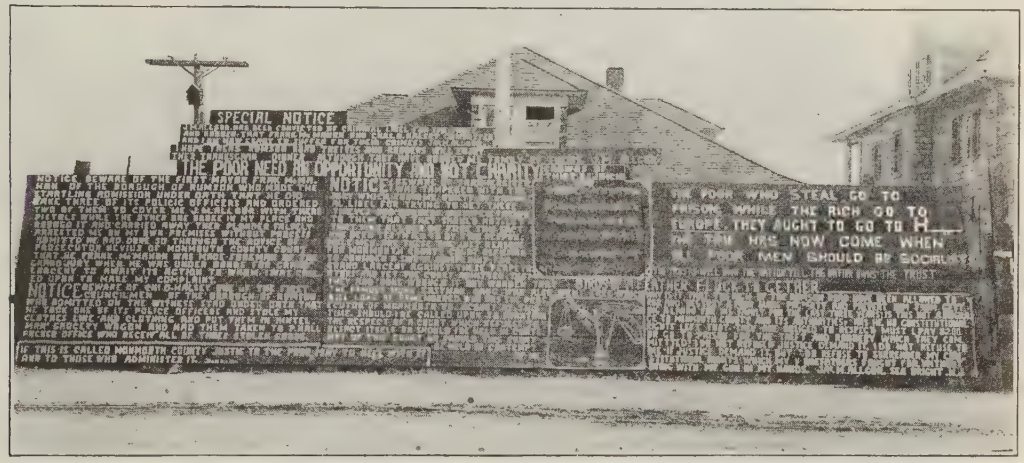
There was one apparent exception to this rule—the wrangle for political power carried on in ancient Rome itself. The age-long class war waged from the early days of the republic between the *plebs* (the farmers and artisans of Rome and its contiguous territory), and the patricians (the Roman nobility and the military orders), degenerated, towards the closing days and the fall of the republic, into mere "politics" of our Tammany Hall variety carried on at the Forum (the Roman parliament) between the scum of the Roman citizens, the so-called Roman proletariat, on one side and the Roman Senate or the political machine of the decaying Roman nobility and plutocracy on the other. Now, this proletariat had absolutely nothing in common with our modern proletariat; these proletarian Romans were in no sense an economic class. Production in Rome itself and on the great landed estates was carried on by slaves.

The proletarian citizen had no trade and did no work whatever. He was either fed by state charity and state graft or a hanger-on, spunger and lickspittle at the house of some nobleman or plutocrat called his *patron.* All these proletarians were an unorganized mass of the submerged elements and constituted the lower layer of parasites in the economic scheme of Rome. But this city rabble had votes which they sold to the highest grafter. So that this tomfoolery at the ballot carried on by this proletarian rabble can not in any way be regarded as political action or as a real class contest for economic or political supremacy in the Roman state, no more than is so regarded the voting and vote-selling of our "floaters," "repeaters," colonizers," and other hordes of the voting scum swarming during elections and infesting the slum dens and the Boweries of our large industrial and commercial bee-hives.

Finally, whatever the character which the class struggle may have assumed in the past, it does not at all follow that the great struggle of the modern proletariat under capitalism for carrying out radical changes in its own economic condition while capitalism is still in power and for achieving its own final emancipation and that of all humanity with the overthrow of the capitalist system must run or will run in the groove and track of by-gone precapitalistic times. The modern proletariat may, can, and will bring to bear its own creative powers, will develop new modes of efficient class action totally undreamed of and impossible in the past; it does and will find and perfect new ways and means and a new mechanism for successfully carrying out its historic mission—

a mechanism more in harmony with and inevitably flowing from the growth of the workers in numbers, economic organization and cohesion, solidarity, and the great industrial training they will get more and more in shop, mine, and field—a training in the process of production itself and in transportation calling for managerial, organizing, and executive ability. In short, the proletariat may bring into action tactical principles and methods either entirely nonparliamentary or such in which political effort in the parliamentary sense may be a factor more or less powerful.

(To be Continued.)



AN EYESORE TO THE RICH

By W. R. Killingbeck

SITUATED in the heart of fashionable Jersey, surrounded by the estates of multi-millionaires, Comrade J. M. Allgor, a Socialist, lives in his cottage home. But unfortunately he is not content with being permitted to exist upon the same earth as the capitalist class and uses every means at his command to enlighten the world on the great message of Socialism.

Speeding down the broad drive that passes his house in a luxurious automobile such magnates as Havemayer, of unsavory Sugar Trust fame, and others equally notorious for robbing the workers, find their aesthetic senses offended by the high fence that Comrade Allgor has erected for purposes of propaganda and such signs as:

"Idle parasites grow rich on the labor of those who work," or "Workingmen agitate, educate, organize and abolish industrial slavery!"

Boldly in Comrade Allgor's front yard, on top of his own flag pole waves his own red flag, and all this on the famous Rumson Road, Seabright, over which automobiles have to pass to the most fashionable summer resorts of Jersey.

The capitalists in the vicinity have done everything possible short of murder to oust him. Comrade Allgor's fences have been torn down, his windows smashed, his house broken into and furniture destroyed. His clothes line has been cut and clothes stolen. But in spite of beatings, robberies and incessant attacks, Comrade Allgor rebuilt the signboards and inserted new epigrams.

It is reported that as a last resort a tool of some of the wealthy residents named Packer hatched up a scheme to get rid of the invincible Socialist. Packer claimed that Allgor was dangerously insane, thus securing fraudulent signatures for his arrest. A medical student pronounced him unbalanced and he was rushed off to the State Hospital for the Insane.

But Allgor is out and on the job stronger than ever and a startling scandal is spreading about some of "our most prominent and respected" big business thieves.

The Next Big Thing

BY

Samuel W. Ball

THE rapidity with which big and important things chase each other off the stage of life rivals the speed of a quick change artist. The phrase, "Life is just one —— thing after another," rings true.

It is even more noticeably true in the activity of the Socialist movement, where one big thing follows another in quick succession, each one bigger and closer on the heels of the preceding one. We have not time to rest up from one season of activity till we are fairly plunged into the midst of another.

First it is the city, then the state campaign. We have not time to catch even a "forty winks" until the presidential campaign is upon us, and now before the smoke of battle has fairly cleared away, we look around for the next big thing to find that already before we knew it, it has established itself and grown to towering dimensions.

The next big thing is the Lyceum. It is already ushered in. As nearly as may be judged, the Lyceum Department has done every thing possible in the way of preparation. It has worked out every detail with a view to enabling the membership to secure the best possible results with the least necessary effort. Several thousand dollars' worth of printing has been done. Complete information concerning the entire plan has been placed in the hands of every local and branch. A paper has been established as a means of direct communication between the workers. Speakers have been engaged and required to make more than the ordinary preparation. Outlines have been sent in by the speakers and submitted to each of the others for comparison, to the end that no speaker need trespass on the territory of any other in his circuit. Each speaker has received strict instructions to stick to his subject and the preparation of the outlines required careful study.

True, several obstacles, impossible to foresee, have hindered the work, delaying the start and increasing the expense. A few individuals and locals have found their own plans seriously interfered with by the delay. The end sought, however, is of such magnitude that individual matters may not be allowed to interfere.

The harvest time of the campaign has just passed. The votes gathered in represent the fruition of efforts put forth in the distribution of literature, in agitation and education months previous to the election. The seed time of another campaign is now here. Socialist sentiment is now to be crystallized and the new converts to be educated. This is the work of the Lyceum.

It is now up to the membership. The responsibility for the success of this big undertaking, as with everything else, is with the members themselves. The expenses have been incurred. The preparations have been made. The material is ready for use. The only remaining thing must be done by the rank and file.

It may be there are better plans for educating the public as to the real meaning of socialism and the purpose of our organization. If so, it appears they have not been suggested or undertaken. The Lyceum is here. Whether it is a success or not depends upon prompt and strenuous action by your local or branch.



U. S. S. MARYLAND—BRADFORD COALING STATION
Sailors Have Just Finished Coaling at the Rate of 180 Tons per Hour by Hand. Ship's Coal Capacity, 2,300 Tons

TRUTHS ABOUT THE NAVY

BY

MARION WRIGHT

AN OFFICER at the naval recruiting station, Pittsburg, Pa., gave the lie to my article in the September REVIEW by boldly stating that I was probably a woman. As the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin was a woman, and women writers have a happy faculty for stirring things up I trust that this article will only serve to swell the flood of letters which are pouring into the offices of the REVIEW confirming my statements in this series of TRUTHS ABOUT THE NAVY.

In my first article I stated that he (the recruit) "takes an oath to obey 'all lawful orders,' but another part of the navy regulations which he is not permitted to see provides that as far as his opinion is concerned any order given by a superior is lawful." The recruiting officer states that this paragraph is "absolutely false" for the reason that if an enlisted man considers orders unjust he "may go to the commanding officer for an impartial decision of their merits," and that the regulations are not really hidden but are "pasted all over the ship in frames." True, very true about them being posted up all about the decks; but the sucker is not caught on the ship. When he reaches the ship where he can see what he is up against, he is ALREADY HOOKED! It is everlastingly too late for him to turn back and he is confronted at every turn with evidence of the grim consequences that are to follow if he dares break one of a thousand rules which he never heard or dreamed of before. Then fancy

a recruit getting an "impartial" decision from the captain, should he presume to question the merits of an order! He would have far less chance than does a workingman who appeals to a higher court from the decision of an "Injunction Judge," besides he may be punished for "making frivolous complaints."

I have said in effect and repeat in English words that any form of savagery may be practiced at will by any captain in the navy on members of his crew and while his savage acts are positively forbidden by the navy regulations, the only satisfactory recourse left to the enlisted men is to desert and perhaps be hunted down later as criminals with a price on their heads.

What about the young boys who were said to have been outraged by Admiral Barry a few years ago while he was in supreme command of a great fleet? It is claimed that he was surprised at his bestial practices by his junior officers. At least the evidence was strong enough to cause him to be relieved of his command by wire from Washington and his resignation from the navy demanded. He left his fleet in a cloud of black disgrace and the lowest sailor in his command was morally certain OF THE REASON. Suppose one of these boy victims had rebelled and made a complaint before the hideous scandal came out. To whom would he have addressed his complaint? THE ADMIRAL WAS IN SUPREME COMMAND! How would the word of a common sailor have weighed in Washington, the seat of the mighty, against the word of a gold-braided admiral? Suppose one of these boys had deserted and returned to his home in the inland states—what reasons could he have given to his parents for his act? He would have been arrested by the man hunters and returned to his ship for trial and the very admiral who debauched him would have SIGNED THE PAPERS COMMITTING HIM TO PRISON. Let some ready recruiting officer, who must possess a glib tongue and a ready pen to hold his job, answer the above questions and reply to the above facts. The glove is down, let even Washington, the seat of the mighty, take it up.

If by any chance an enlisted man should win a decision over his superior he would eventually have his career ruined or be hounded out of the navy by other officers in spite of the law. "What is the Blue Book between brother officers?" is just as common as "What is the constitution between friends?" A man or officer testifies against the powers that be at his peril.

I will prove the truth of the above by the naval officers' own newspapers. Having a philosopher friend whose hobby is writing and studying on the "Suppression of the Truth by the Church and State," I felt that he would be able to help me, so I appealed to him. He is supplied by various press clipping bureaus with every item published bearing on "Suppression or Persecution." Referring to his records I looked over his clippings for 1912 for naval items and found three articles within a very few moments which will prove my case. They were clipped from the weekly newspapers *Army and Navy Journal,* which calls itself *"Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces,"* and the *Army and Navy Register,* which lays claim to being *"The U. S. Military Gazette."* Careful investigation disclosed the fact that these two papers issued respectively from New York and Washington, D. C., have been published for more than forty years; are ultra-conservative in policy; despise all anti-militarists; love war and Boy Scouts, and are in fact the official mouth-pieces of the commissioned officers of the army and navy.

Let us see now how these staunch old journals will sometimes so far forget themselves as to allow a little ray of truth to illumine their pages. Let us discover from this authoritative source how even high commissioned officers may *"Jeopardize their careers"* by uttering a single word displeasing to their superiors. And let us learn with shame that so mighty a tribunal as a committee of Congressmen of the United States of America is powerless to protect such officers!

I found the following extracts in an article in the *Army and Navy Journal,* dated May 11, 1912, entitled "CRITICISMS ON NAVY YARD MANAGEMENT." (Italics and words in capitals are mine.)

A little more than a year ago Naval Constructor H. A. Evans, U. S. N., submitted for publication in the Proceedings of the Naval Institute an article on naval administration which was found sufficiently acceptable to be put into type, BUT THEN THE TROUBLES OF MR. EVANS BEGAN. * * *

Then Commander Coontz was sent for and

told peremptorily that the article must not be published. * * *

Now that the article appears in the report of the hearing of Mr. Evans before the House Naval Committee * * * the Navy Department, or whoever is responsible for its suppression, is put in the indefensible position of HAVING SOUGHT TO SUPPRESS CRITICISMS WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN LISTENED TO and called to the attention of all interested in the improvement of naval conditions.

The *Army and Navy Register* of the same date has the following to say on the same subject: (italics and words in capitals are mine.)

It may easily turn out that the naval committee will find no other naval officer in the position of Mr. Evans, just before his resignation went into effect, of BEING ABLE TO TELL JUST WHAT HE KNOWS AND THINKS. No officer of the navy is to be blamed for becoming an unwilling witness before a congressional committee when he is confronted with the choice of keeping still or coming out against the administration. In the latter instance he is apt to ENCOUNTER TROUBLE OF A VERY SERIOUS CHARACTER, recalling the fate of some officers of army and navy upon whom have been visited the results of OFFICIAL DISPLEASURE FOR TESTIMONY GIVEN BEFORE THE MILITARY AND NAVAL COMMITTEES during the past two or three years in matters bearing directly and with considerable importance upon pending legislation. Members of committees have frequently promised to protect officers who are called upon to give their views, BUT THERE IS NO WAY TO FURNISH SUCH PROTECTION, inasmuch as the "punishment" may not always be identified as such; besides, the congressional memory is a short one. * * *

The following extracts are taken from an article entitled "'PROTECTION' OF OFFICERS" in the *Army and Navy Register* of Oct. 5, 1912: (Italics and words in capitals are mine.)

There have been examples of officers who have found it necessary, however unwilling they were as witnesses, to indulge in criticism or what appeared to be criticism of their superiors; UPON SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN VISITED THE EFFECT OF SUCH INDISCRETION. * * * For this reason it has been difficult, if not impossible, TO PROTECT SUCH OFFICERS, regardless of the assurance of protection which has invariably been accorded to them. * * *

* * * Officers will not feel free to express themselves before congressional committees while they MUST INCUR SUCH PERIL OF RETALIATION no less REAL IN ITS EFFECT because it is sometimes so intangible or SUBTILE. Officers can not be expected to jeopardize their careers in any such manner and THERE IS NO INDICATION OF ANY IMPROVEMENT in the state of affairs at the capitol. Congress IS IN NO POSITION TO PROTECT OFFICERS. * * *

What chance then, in the name of common sense, has an enlisted man, friendless and without influence, to obtain redress for wrongs when high commissioned officers dare not speak the truth of their bigoted superiors even while under oath and within the sheltering bosom of their Nation's Capitol Building?

FROM EX-MARINES

(NOTE—The Review has this month received so many letters from ex-marines disclosing conditions in the navy that we are able only to quote from a few of these in the December Review. We have tried to pick out points and conditions not already touched upon in this series.)

D. of Texas, brings to attention the most important point to be said against the navy: namely, that the navy, as such, is maintained for the purpose of protecting the property interests of the rich men of any nation and increasing those interests. Referring to the four American marines recently killed during the trouble in Nicaragua, one of the newspapers says editorially:

AN INCIDENT.

When an American officer lands American marines in a country in which civil war is being waged it stands to reason that the marines are ready to use bullet and bayonet if necessary. They are sent to protect American interests. If the awe inspired by their mere presence is sufficient to serve their purpose everyone is well pleased. But if this does not suffice there naturally must be fighting. There is no way out of it.

A Nicaraguan rebel commander, who was interfering with a railroad and thereby affecting "American interests," declined to move on when commanded by the American admiral. The marines and bluejackets were drawn up for him to look upon, and still he was unimpressed. Then there was nothing left to do but fight. The Americans did fight, did drive away the rebels, killing several who would not easily be driven. In performing this little incidental task four American soldiers were incidentally killed.

These four were brave men, doing their duty. Their duty demanded the sacrifice of their lives. Possibly when they enlisted they did not contemplate real fighting as a likely part of the day's work, but their job was a fighting job, none the

less. Were it not for the need of men to do fighting in infrequent emergencies there would be no marine corps.

The death of the four young men is regrettable. They died not for the "honor of the flag," not to "save their country," not to repel a foreign invader or to do any of the romantic or glamorous things. Their sacrifice was merely an incident in the performance of a military odd job, in which they could take little or no patriotic interest. Perhaps the fact that what they did will so soon be forgotten renders them even more worthy of honor.

There boys, you have the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The chief duty of a soldier or a marine is to protect the property of the great exploiters of labor the world over. He must be ready to kill or be killed to protect or increase the property of the millionaires. What do you think about it?

D. writes: "I remember the instance of one man who was hung up by the thumbs by an officer in the army to make him tell that which he did not know. The captain claimed he did. I saw this with my own eyes although orders were to keep "the men" away except the sergeant of the guard. I sneaked in and peeked through a crack. I saw the man's swollen and lacerated thumbs which looked more like slabs of liver."

Mc. of Georgia, writes a letter from the Socialist viewpoint showing that when a class society has been abolished, there will be no further need of armies and navies to kill in the interests of the wealth-owning class. Space does not allow or we would be glad to publish his letter in full.

B. of Boise, Idaho, refers those interested, to photographs published in the *Police Gazette* of July 23, 1910, if they desire to know the punishment meted out to the boys who are guilty of breaking or spilling something, or neglecting to meet the officer's requirements in the matter of personal attire.

W. of Kansas, contributed a booklet showing the difference between the court's martial of officers and ordinary marines. These were a few cases from the U. S. S. Charleston, 1906-7. For the "stealing" of a bucket of fresh water from the scuttlebutt, on one man-o'-war, marines were given sentences similar to 30 days in double irons on bread and water, in a solitary cell, 4x6 ft., and forfeiture of from 15 days to three months' pay.

In the case of an officer, tried by a court of his brother officers and found guilty of embezzlement on six counts, making false reports of balances to his credit, and making false official reports (19 separate offenses in all), the verdict was dismissal from service and six months hard labor. The "hard labor" was never inflicted as doubtless no navy officer could be found cruel enough to so humiliate a brother officer.



IN THE DOUGH—ON BOARD THE ELCANO.



THE BLACKSMITHS AT WORK

W. says: I have seen a man insulted, abused and struck by a petty officer without cause and then reported, tried by a court of three "unbaised" officers and sentenced to be put in a solitary cell with hand and leg irons, with a full ration every third day, hard tack and water the other two, for a period of thirty days and to forfeit three months' pay.

M. of Toronto, Canada, in writing on the British navy, declares that during the fifteen years he served in both army and navy, he has personally known boys who made a regular weekly income from the practice of sodomy and other nameless immoral acts. In most cases they were compelled to submit to the indecent overtures of petty officers in the fear of their lives being made impossible. I have known petty officers to make appointments with boys ashore and take them to incredible places. M. reports other practices of such utter depravity that we shall not take them up here. But any one knowing anything of the cases in the venereal wards of naval hospitals and the sufferings of the boys there can verify all he says.

C. of New York state, contributes some photographs of the U. S. S. Marblehead and claims that the U. S. A. fostered the rebellion in Panama in order to get the canal property for practically nothing. C. weighed 240 pounds when he joined the navy, but lost 65 pounds after contracting rheumatism. He was court martialled for theft and admits frankly that he was "guilty," as were other members of the crew who "stole" provisions from the chief petty officer's store room to satisfy their hunger and secure a change from hash and beans. We understand that later the crew mutinied.

V. of Indiana, sends in a clipping reporting the death of Vern McAninch, the twenty-second man of an entire corps to be poisoned while serving in the army in Alaska. All but two or three members of the corps died from eating poisoned canned meats. The days of beef embalming are not yet over. We wonder who got the profit on those deadly cans!

J. M. of Nebraska, sends in so many vivid pictures of navy life as seen by a gunner's mate that we regret lack of space forbids our publishing them in full. J. M.'s recital of his life at a training station would kill off any desire any boy might have for a "life in the navy." He calls attention to the very first and most obvious lie made by recruiting officers and the Government which promises free medical attention, while every enlisted private is charged so much per month from his wages for medical service whether he receives it or not.

"Life became so unbearable," he writes,

"that we had several attempts at suicide and a few cases of punctured ear drums. Boys would run a broom straw or needle into their ear drums in order to be discharged. Others tried the rupture route to liberty, willfully seeking to rupture themselves and risking permanent injury to escape the intolerable conditions. We had too a few eager soap eaters, who devoured soap, grew sick at the stomach and showed excellent symptoms of serious illness. Others made solemn vows that if double irons were placed on them, to remain double ironed until discharged. As soon as they were released for one offense they would commit it over again, and sometimes when they had been in double irons two or three months, they would be discharged as incorrigible and undesirable."

A comrade from one of the soldiers' homes writes that young men would not have to be urged to keep out of the army or navy if they could find jobs elsewhere. He points that it is no longer very often "patriotism" that draws them into the service, but the physical need of food, clothing and a shelter that makes them sign on as legal murderers or targets in the interests of the interests.

He also explains another method whereby the soldier or marine is cheated. "The recruit is subjected to the most thorough physical examination *before* he assumes his obligations. *After* his enlistment *expires,* he receives a very slight corporal examination and often pronounced physically sound whether he is or not. If a man declared sound, later applies for a pension, his application is rejected. He may not claim a pension under any circumstances. This is the experience of scores of Spanish-American war veterans. The so-called pension department is absolutely useless to the incapacitated soldiers. It invents some base untruths in its rejection of their pension claims. It is as a sand-bag to them. Since, it is a part of the corrupt capitalism, what else may be expected of it?"

THE MOLDERS' CONVENTION

BY

WM. Z. FOSTER

At the recent convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, held at Milwaukee, an event occurred that should prove most fruitful of results. The rebel delegates, numbering about 70 out of a total of 490, realizing the futility of craft unionism and the imperative need of revolutionary unionism amongst foundry workers, organized themselves into a propaganda organization with the avowed purpose of satisfying this need. They propose to make of the I. M. U. of N. A. a militant industrial union; a union that will include all workers in and around foundries and which will use the most approved tactics. To this end they are going to carry on a vigorous campaign of education throughout the I. M. U. of N. A. and foundry workers in general. They are going to publish a monthly paper through the columns of which they will at once carry on their propaganda. standardize their policies, combat reactionary influences and generally organize themselves so as to systematically go about placing the I. M. U. of N. A. on a revolutionary basis.

This propaganda organization is similar to those doing such good work in the ranks of the English trades unions and which were recently described in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, in an article, entitled, "Forces Making for Industrial Unionism." It is full of promise and doubtless will soon be a power in the I. M.



SOME OF THE REBELS AT THE MOLDERS' CONVENTION.

U. of N. A. Such organizations might profitably be formed in the ranks of many other trade unions and thus the great field they present for propaganda and development, now sadly neglected, be systematically exploited. The formation of the propaganda organization in the I. M. U. of N. A. is due mainly to the efforts of T. J. Mooney, of San Francisco, one of the men chiefly responsible for the publication of "Revolt." Mooney and other reds had long carried on an agitation in the molder's union in Frisco (Pres. Valentine, of the I. M. U. of N. A., a member of the Civic Federation, belongs to this local) and the harvest of this agitation was reaped when the reds sent Mooney to the convention in spite of the strongest opposition on the part of Valentine, Nolan, etc.

Arrived at the convention, determined to carry on the fight, Mooney found the militant minority almost entirely unorganized, as is commonly the case at trade union conventions. When the nature of the fight which Mooney and the few others were making became clear the reds rallied to their support, and the permanent organization resulted. This organization is going to proceed immediately to its task and all molders and core makers interested in this work of making their union an effective one are asked to get in touch with T. J. Mooney, 1645 15th St., San Francisco, Cal.



WHAT OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY?

A Word in Season

BY

TH. ROTHSTEIN

THE British Labor Party has been a frequent topic of discussion in the American Socialist press, and though it is never altogether useless to repeat the truth I should not have thought of writing about it once more but for the circumstance that after Comrade Robert Hunter has done considerable propaganda in favor of it, both on this and the other side of the Atlantic, Mr. Keir Hardie, as I understand, is going over to America to put in a bit of work in the same direction there. Under these circumstances a re-statement of the case which the Social-Democrats of England have against the Labor Party may not be inopportune.

The Labor Party was formed as a coalition between the Socialists and the Trade Unions for the specific purpose of gaining seats in Parliament on behalf of the working class. It is true that the working class had been represented in Parliament ever since it received a vote. Both capitalist parties derived their parliamentary position very largely from the vote given to them in election times by members of the working class, and in addition, a certain number of members of Parliament were working men and leaders of Trade Unions themselves. It was in consideration of this fact that the Social-Democrats who had entered the new coalition asked from the beginning, in what way would the new members of Parliament be distinguished from the older set, and demanded some sort of program that would constitute the former the representatives of the working class *par excellence.*

The reply, however, was that we need not hurry with these distinctive programs—that it would, for the time being, be perfectly sufficient if all those who were returned under the auspices of the new party (or committee, as it then simply was) were to constitute in Parliament a distinct body acting together and apart from the other parties. The Social-Democrats did not like the arrangements and withdrew, and the Labor party as then constituted has become what it is now.

What *has* it become? Just as I write a delightful piece of bluff is being carried out at Hanley. Hanley is one of the most God-forsaken places in England, the center of the potteries, surrounded by coal mines, and filled with misery to overflowing. It was hitherto represented in Parliament by Mr. Enoch Edwards, the president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, who was a *sound Liberal,* but also a member of the Labor party. He is now unfortunately dead, and both the Labor party and the Liberals claim the right of succession to his seat.

The former argue quite plausibly that Mr. Edwards was a Labor man—consequently the seat belongs to the Labor party. But the Liberals also argue quite plausibly that Mr. Edwards had all his life been a loyal Liberal, became a Labor man only in 1909 when his Federation joined the Labor party, but even so continued to enjoy the support of the local Liberals who worked and voted for him as their *official candidate* in the two elections of 1910—consequently the seat is at bottom a Liberal one.

The dispute itself is rather characteristic, but the action of the Labor party has been still more so. It has not surrendered its claim to the seat and brought forward a candidate to wrest it from the Liberal. That candidate, however, a certain Mr. Finney, a local miners' official, is himself,

though labeled a Labor man, a good and moderate Liberal, a local Methodist preacher into the bargain, whose two brothers are both *official Liberal agents.*

Even a drop of water, we know, reflects the sun, and so does this little *contretemps* epitomize the whole development and the meaning of the Labor party. The first candidate returned under its auspices was Mr. David Shackleton.* He was secretary of the Darwen Weavers' Association, but also J. P. for Accrington and member of the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce—the very type of a Liberal Trade Union official and of a masters' man. He would probably have been sent to Parliament all the same—by the Liberals, of course; but his union belonged to the Labor Representation Committee, and so at a by-election at Clitheroe, in August, 1902, he was brought forward by the Labor party. He was returned unopposed.

The main facts of his subsequent career were his opposition to the raising of the school age; his candidature, against Hyndman, for the second seat on the International Socialist Bureau at the Amsterdam Socialist Congress of 1904; his participation in 1907 at the banquet offered by the British Cotton-Growing Association to Herr Dernburg, then German Colonial Minister, with suitable speeches; his vigorous opposition throughout to the introduction of anything savoring of Socialism into the statutes or methods of the Labor party; and his public quarrel with Ben Tillet at the Sheffield Trade Union Congress of 1910 because the latter had called him traitor. After having been supported throughout by the leaders of the Labor party and of the I. L. P., and after having done his best at the above-mentioned congress to dissuade the workers from becoming too excited over the Osborne judgment, he took graceful leave of the party by retiring to a comfortable berth at the home office at a salary of £800 per annum, and is now an insurance commissioner at a salary of £1,000 ($5,000) per annum.

This was the first "Labor" M. P. of the newest formation. The second to be returned was Mr. Arthur Henderson, still happily with the party and since last year even its general secretary. He was returned for Barnard Castle at a by-election in 1903. He also was a Trade Union official and a J. P., and in addition, a local Nonconformist preacher. Down to the very eve of his candidature, he was the Liberal agent, 1st district, but he generously agreed to throw up his post and to sign the "constitution" of the Labor party in order to become its candidate. In the same year the third Labor member was returned in the person of Mr. Will Crooks. He had long been a member of the Liberal party and represented it as a "Progressive" at the London County Council. In March, 1903, he was successfully returned for Woolwich as a Labor man with the official support of the Liberal party.

Messrs. Shackleton, Henderson, and Crooks symbolize the first, and Mr. Finney the last stage of the development of the Labor party; what lies between them can easily be guessed. There was not much to choose between Mr. Shackleton and his Lib-Lab. predecessors such as Broadhurst and Pickard; and there is not much to choose between Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Finney. The Labor party has merely brought the old Liberal Trade Union officials together and given them a new name.

It has been, and is still being argued, that this is precisely what constitutes the main achievement of the Labor party. To get the representatives of Labor to act together and independently of the capitalist class is the first step towards weaning them from their bourgeois-mother's breast, and to induce them to be stamped with the word "Labor" is the sole means of bringing all the various sections, into which the working class is divided, the Liberal, the Tory, the Socialist working men, under one common denominator. Once they have accepted this common name and constituted themselves into a separate party, the most difficult step will have been made in the evolution towards a Socialist party. Such is the argument which has been put forward against the Social-Democrats by the I. L. P., including, in the first place, Mr. Keir Hardie himself, in defence of the Labor party policy. Of late, even the Communist Manifesto and the letters to Sorge have been

*Mr. Keir Hardie had been elected in 1900, before the formal constitution of the Labor party.

brought in to prove that even our masters, Marx and Engels, thought so.

The argument certainly looks attractive on paper, but somehow or other the actual experience does not bear it out. Experience has, on the contrary, shown that so far from proving a neutral ground on which the working class was to gather and unite, the Labor party has only been able to attract the Liberal working men and those Socialists who expressly recognize its policy.

Thus far not a single Tory trade unionist has been attracted by the "neutral" war-cry and induced to stand as candidate under the auspices of the Labor party. Even in the constituencies the Labor party has been unable to gain the Tory workingman's vote. This is proved by the election figures at various times which show that in all triangular contests the Labor man obtains his vote at the expense of the Liberal, but never of the Tory opponent. It is only the Liberal working man whom the Labor party has succeeded in catching both as voter and parliamentary representative, not the Tory. The "common" denominator has only proved a denominator common to the Liberal trade unionist and a certain school of Socialists—precisely what the Social-Democrats had expected.

But is there not a virtue in the mere habit of acting together and in constituting a separate Labor group? In other words, do not the Liberal Laborites become different and act differently by the mere reason that they are no longer within the folds of the Liberal party?

This, too, has been the fond expectation of our I. L. P. friends, but it has not been realized in practice.

I have before me a press cutting with a speech delivered at a public meeting by Lord (then Mr.) Morley at Nottingham, in November, 1903. By that time the first electoral battles of the Labor party had revealed its tendencies, and at Nottingham itself the then Labor candidate, Mr. Richardson, was exhibiting a temper which—to use Mr. Morley's words—"was rational, independent, yet not unreasonable." Speaking of this very business of Labor representation, Mr. Morley said: "I once, not very long ago, claimed a certain Labor representative as a member of the Liberal party, and one of my constituents wrote to me and said: 'Is not this rather nonsense on your part? He is a Labor representative; he is not a Liberal, and it is no good your pretending that he belongs to the Liberal party.' 'Well,' I said, 'I will write to you in a year from now, and if we find after a year's parliamentary working that this Labor man has gone into a different lobby from me one time out of ten, I will agree that I made a mistake.' "You know," Mr. Morley continued, addressing the audience, "you know quite well that nine times out of ten a labor man will go into the same lobby as a Liberal. Mr. Ellis (the chairman of the meeting), even thinks 99 times out of 100, and I do not differ."

What Lord Morley predicted about the labor representative he had in his mind (and both Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Henderson who had been then elected were fêted by the Liberal "Three Dozen" on their return to the House), proved true of all the subsequent members of the labor group who were elected since then; 99 times out of 100 they went, and are still going, into the same lobby as the Liberals.

Of course, there have been exceptions; so there are also exceptions when some *Liberals* do not go into the same lobby as the government wishes them to. The exceptions only prove the rule which is that the bulk of the Labor party being Liberals, they naturally go with the Liberal party into the same lobby. *The change in their name has not produced in them any change either of opinion or of tactics.*

But I hear an objection. The other day Mr. Anderson, writing on the Hanley quarrel in the *Daily News,* said: "The Labor party is an independent organization, and there is no tie of loyalty or allegiance binding it to any other party. The Labor party believes in land reform, and super-taxes, and small holdings (!), and old age pensions, and the feeding of necessitous children, and workmen's compensation, and self-government for Ireland, and they will go into the lobby with any party or any group of members in support of these things."

Very nice, to be sure. It means that if the Labor party finds itself 99 times out of 100 in the same lobby as the Liberals, it is due to the mere fact that the Liberals are

giving precisely those reforms which the Labor party is in favor of. Then, it may well be asked, why on earth have a separate party? Or does it perhaps prove that the Labor party is exceedingly modest—almost 99 per cent. Liberal in its aspirations? But it is not true that the Labor party finds itself in the same lobby with the Liberals *only* on those questions of social and political reform on which both *agree.*

When the bulk of the Labor members votes with the Government or at best abstains on such questions as naval armaments, as the right to work, as the reduction of tea taxes, as the terrorization of the railway men on strike by means of military and police, is it also due to an agreement on questions of *reforms?*

And if the Labor party as a whole is afraid to raise its voice on such occasions as the coal strike, is it also due to the fact the Government is progressive? On the other hand, if the Labor party owe no allegiance to any party and is independent of the two, how is it that it has never yet found itself in the same lobby with the Tories? Are the Tories so uniformly reactionary as the Liberals are progressive?

"If a Tory government were elected tomorrow," declared his conviction Mr. Keir Hardie at a large meeting in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in March last year, "it would be compelled to give reforms just as the Liberal government had been compelled." Then why do Labor members invariably find themselves in the same lobby with the Liberals, but never with the Tories?

A couple of years ago the Labor party brought in an amendment on the question of fair wages. The Government would not accept it, but the Tories were prepared to vote in favor of it. No sooner, however, had this become known than the Labor men decided to withdraw it, and not being able to do so by the rules of the House *actually voted against it.*

This was not the only instance of this kind, and it may well be to ask, how it comes that the Labor party would rather be wrong and faithless to itself with the Liberals than be right in company with the Tories? "Ah, but the Tories, if returned, would not give such nice reforms as the Liberals, and would, along with reforms, also pass reactionary measures!" Yes, but is it different with the Liberals? Are *all* the Liberal reforms—for instance, the Insurance Act (not to go further)—nice, and do *they* not pass reactionary measures—for instance, those in connection with armaments? Then, once more, why do the Labor members still vote with the Liberals and never with the Tories?

It is evident that the protestations and the "explanations" offered by the apologists of the Labor party on the subject of the latter's political policy would not bear a moment's examination. The truth is simply this, that the object of the Labor party, as laid down at the time of its constitution and as practiced since then, being to return to the House of Commons as many men as possible with no other distinctive feature than their name, it was soon found that the easiest way to achieve it would be to run ordinary Liberals acceptable to the Liberal party machine on a platform that should do their convictions the least violence possible.

That was done in the case of the first three Labor men mentioned above, and that has remained the practice throughout the ten years down to Mr. Finney. It has, indeed, resulted in the formation of a Labor group in Parliament, but in most cases consisting of pure Liberals with no "loyalty or allegiance," except to their name, and in *all* cases dependent for their seats on Liberal favor.

"Of the 29 (candidates) who were successful (in the elections of 1906)," writes Mr. Philip Snowden with delightful frankness in the *Daily Mail Year Book* for the present year, "only three had to face Liberal opposition. The remaining 26, though run independently of the Liberals, were supported by Liberal voters, and to this they owed their success." If that was the state of affairs in the first flush of "Labor" enthusiasm, it is easy to imagine what it became afterwards.

"At subsequent elections," Mr. Snowden admits, "in each of these (the three where the Labor men had in 1906 to face Liberal opposition), constituencies the Liberals have abstained from nominating a candidate, and the Liberal vote has gone to the Labor party. . . . At the general election in

January, 1910, . . . not one of the 40 successful Labor candidates had to face Liberal opposition. Not one of the Labor candidates who had a Liberal opponent was successful. At the last election in December (1910), very much the same thing happened. No Labor or Socialist candidate was successful against Liberal opposition or in a three-cornered contest."

I call the frankness with which Mr. Snowden has thus written "delightful," because when the Social-Democrats—and my humble self included (see my letters to the *New York Call* at the time)—said the same—it was invariably denied with great indignation. It is, however, also *important,* because it enables us to learn from the lips of one of the strongest pillars of the Labor party to what circumstances its electoral success has been due.

Of course, there is no sin in accepting Liberal votes. But when you are fishing for and obtain it by putting up as candidates Liberals on a Liberal platform, you do not only defraud that portion of the electorate which really wants an independent man, but you also render your men incapable of independence for all time and fail to educate the electorate in those ideas which alone can emancipate you from the dependence on the bourgeois vote. That is the explanation why three-cornered contests or even a contest against a Liberal opponent have become so hopeless since 1906.

And this is the method and the party which Socialist admirers of the Labor party, including Robert Hunter, are recommending to us on the authority of Marx and Engels, as *the* method and *the* party which we ought to support and to imitate wherever possible!

Have fatuity and opportunism ever reached such heights?

Consider the position of these Socialists themselves—what has become of them? Having set out with the idea of permeating the Trade Union officials with Socialism, they have ended by becoming permeated themselves—with Liberalism.

"You ask for a Socialist party?" says Mr. MacDonald. "There is absolutely nothing that a Socialist party could do in the House of Commons that the Labor party is not doing." "We have killed the revolutionary Socialist movement in these islands," the same gentleman (who can talk the revolutionary class war at international congresses), boasted on another occasion.

And his friend, Mr. Phillip Snowden, who can find within himself the sorry courage to attack the miners in the midst of their tremendous struggle in a Liberal paper, said on one occasion (at Blackburn, on January 22, 1912): "I do not want you to be despondent because we do not make such progress as some of us would like. I sometimes doubt whether we would in this country. I think the development would rather be on the lines of an active Labor party, Socialistic to a very large extent, inflencing *other* political parties who have the means by their numbers to give effect in legislation to democratic demands. After all I do not know that it matters very much *who* does it, so long as the work is done."

Where is their steady march towards a Socialist party which they expected from the unification of the political forces of the working class? It would seem they have themselves abandoned that march which they once undertook to teach the working class to perform by means of the Labor party bloc, and have returned to sheer Liberalism. Indeed, their sole concern seems to be (as witness the efforts made by them in 1908 to destroy the meaning of the Socialist resolution passed by the Labor party at its conference at Hull), to keep their trade union colleagues as far away from the mere conception of Socialism as possible, and by pandering to their reactionary veins to maintain them in their profoundly anti-Socialist frame of mind.

They are, in effect, in the same position as regards their Liberal colleagues as the Labor party as a whole stands in relation to the Liberals; they have been caught in their meshes, and must accommodate themselves to them if the bloc is to subsist and the seats are to be kept. The "common denominator," has proved to be—Liberalism!

I doubt whether most of them are happy. Opportunists as they are, flattered as they feel in their vanity by seeing themselves members of Parliament, courted by ministers, advertised by the bourgeois press, and looming large in the eyes of the Interna-

tional, I do think that in their heart of hearts some of them, at least, find the state of things highly unsatisfactory.

What does, for instance, Mr. Keir Hardie himself feel? I know he speaks very bravely of the Labor party. He defends it both at home and in America, and thoroughly enjoys the idea that Marx himself has sanctioned it by anticipation. He is also, with all his amiability, not a strong character, and while feeling uncomfortable under Mr. MacDonald's heel, is still prepared to proclaim him "the greatest intellectual asset of the movement," or while fiercely denouncing monarchy outside Parliament, kow-tow before it in the House.

At the same time how does he feel when he sees things which he advocates with great ardor or predicts with great faith at meetings, either at home or abroad, being simply thrown under the table by his chief or by his trade union colleagues? Take one instance among many,—the Osborne judgment. Did he not swear and predict at the international meeting at Frankfort in September, 1910, that before a year had been out there would be barricades and a revolution in England if the Government did not restore the *status quo ante?* Did he not on coming home, in the course of a meeting at Radstock (October 23, 1910), declare on this very subject: "You need have no fear as to the result. We shall get payment of members, and we shall also get —and here I speak with authority—a complete reversal of the Osborne judgment. If the election takes place in January as is anticipated, the Labor party will insist upon having it (the reversal), in this session; and woe betide the party which will go to the country without giving it."

Yet the fatal twelve months have come and gone, the elections took place even a month earlier than had been expected, the session had ended, and not only did no revolution take place, not only did the Labor party not get the "complete reversal" of the Osborne judgment either in that or in any of the subsequent sessions to this very month of grace, July, 1912, but no woe has befallen the Liberal or the Tory party or is even likely to befall.

Indeed, at the very same moment when Mr. Keir Hardie was making his prediction at Frankfort the executive of the Labor party was deliberating and finally, at the instance of the Trade Union, i. e., Liberal wing, decided to strike out from the constitution of the party the clause demanding from its parliamentary representatives a written pledge to maintain discipline and unity of action—this to meet the criticism of those Liberals who justified the Osborne judgment on constitutional grounds. And though Mr. Keir Hardie at a subsequent meeting before his constituencies passionately pleaded in a long speech (since published as a pamphlet) that "to change the policy or tactics of the party now would be fatal," "that it would be like lowering the flag in the face of the enemy," and that "the party, pledge and all, independent, militant, defiant, must be legalized if it is to continue to be of service to the cause of democracy," the decision of the executive was ratified at the February congress of the Labor party, and the "flag was lowered."

What did Mr. Keir Hardie on this and numberless other similar occasions feel? For one moment he allowed—at that very congress, though in another connection—his tongue to run away with his thoughts when he said that "the difficulty with the party was and had been that it thought too much in terms of Liberalism"; and at the last congress at Merthyr Tydvil, his own constituency, he, speaking in some connection about the miners, said: "The real trouble was not with the I. L. P. section, or even with the Labor party as a whole. It arose from the fact that when the Labor party took over the Miners' Federation it had to take it over as a going concern, and the Federation included Liberal-Labor members who were in Parliament at the time when the fusion took place; they had not changed any of their principles or their opinions, and they stood where they were before, save that they gave a nominal adherence to the Labor party."

These words were pathetic. Of course, they were not altogether exact. The "trouble" began *before* the miners joined the Labor party in 1909, and what Mr. Keir Hardie says about the miners' representatives as having kept their old principles and opinions and remained where they had been before, with but a nominal adherence to the Labor party, is equally true of Mr. Shackleton and all other trade union represen-

tatives, who followed him. Mr. Keir Hardie, if he takes the trouble to analyze his ideas, will find that this is so. At any rate the words show what Mr. Keir Hardie's feelings sometimes are, and one can only wonder at the eternal elasticity of his spirit when one sees him undergoing the hardship of a long journey to preach Labor party doctrine in America.

Or take Mr. Lansbury. He was once a member of the S. D. P. and went over to its rival organization because the executive of the former body would not enter into an agreement with the Liberals in the East End of London for the mutual support of candidatures. He has now achieved the object of his ambition (I am sure it was not a personal one, but one dictated by a genuine desire to serve the working class in Parliament); is he any happier? Six weeks after he had entered the promised land he said to a representative of the *Labor Leader:* "After six weeks in Parliament I am bound to acknowledge that I don't know where the Labor party comes in. . . . The Labor men always roll up in defense of the Government—very few of them do not vote or pair—but on Labor motions such as unemployment and the demand for an inquiry into police methods in Wales only 30 and 17 Labor men go into the lobby respectively. The fact is that a large number of Labor members have come into the party almost against their will by the vote of the rank and file of the trade unions, and their whole outlook is still more or less colored by their Liberal upbringing."

This was said almost immediately after he had gathered the fruit of his opportunism, and his remedy then was that the Socialists in the party should form a separate wing claiming *complete freedom of action,* that is, the breaking up of the Labor party. Since then he, who had preferred expediency to principle, has been advocating another remedy, viz., that the Labor party in its voting should be guided entirely by the consideration of the merits of the question before them, that is, by considerations of principle, and not by that of the consequential results of the voting to the Government, that is, not by expediency. His sentiments, however, have remained exactly the case. "In what particular phase," he asked at the last congress, "of social legislation during the last two years (he has only been in Parliament two years), have the Labor members differentiated themselves from the Liberal party?" Indeed, in what? In none whatsoever, whether of social or other legislation. Even Mr. Snowden whom nobody will accuse of undue attachment to Socialist principles was obliged to exclaim *apropos* of the attitude of the Labor party towards the Government's Insurance Bill (now happily, Act): "If the I. L. P. will stand that, it will stand anything. If it submits to this it is time to go into voluntary liquidation as a preliminary to affiliating with the National Liberal Federation. The official Labor party is now indistinguishable from the official Liberals."

But the I. L. P. has submitted to "this," and not only has not the I. L. P. not gone into liquidation and not joined the Liberal party, but Snowden himself has remained with the I. L. P. and the Liberal party, and Mr. Keir Hardie is now going to America to preach the gospel of Laborism to the unconverted, with help, presumably, of his comrade Hunter's exegetics on Marx and Engels.

Nearly 65 years ago the Communist Manifesto said: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims . . . of the working class, but in the movement of the present they also present and take care of the future of that movement."

The Socialists of the I. L. P. claim to have acted in this spirit by joining the trade union officials in the Labor party bloc. Anyone, however, who has followed the remarks in the preceding pages can not fail to recognize that **such Socialists are fighting not for the attainment of the immediate aims of the working class, but for their seats in Parliament, and that so far from presenting and taking care of the future of the movement they are keeping it back from any future.**

EDITORIAL

After the Battle. The smoke of the election battle is clearing away, and we can begin to sum up the results. The exact figures are slow in arriving, but it seems clear that the Debs vote is at least double that of four years ago. Best of all, this is a revolutionary vote. Those who were for reform rather than revolution had every reason to support Roosevelt or Wilson rather than Debs. Apparently about three million American voters expect something from capitalism, eleven million think it needs to be reformed, and nearly a million want it abolished. Taft has given the big capitalists exactly what they want in the way of an administration, but he has failed to please the little capitalists who control the most votes. Wilson faces an impossible task. He is likely to please no one. His party stands for no definite program, and what legislation it puts through will probably be in the way of concessions to the demands of the "Progressives." Meanwhile the cost of living will continue to rise, wages will not rise to the same extent, and the distress and discontent of the wage-workers will go on increasing. Woodrow Wilson will unhappily get the blame for what he can not prevent, and the Progressives will pretty certainly be in a position to put their program through in the near future. Some Socialists claim that this program is meant merely to catch votes, not to be enacted into law. We hold on the contrary that the clearest thinkers among the capitalists and their politicians realize that if American manufacturers are to compete successfully with Germany in the world market, they must have the same sort of help from the government in conserving the labor supply which the German employers get. In all this there is no ground for anxiety on the part of Socialists. The "Progressive" reforms that are coming will be, so far as they go, a good thing for "all the people." A well-fed laborer is a more efficient slave than one who is ill-fed. He is also a more efficient rebel. Child labor laws are a good thing for the stronger and more intelligent capitalists, since they conserve a supply of healthy and intelligent wage slaves for the future. But these laws are also good for the working-class children. In the same way we might analyze the other reforms advocated by Roosevelt and his followers, and we should find that they do not attack the vital interests of the capitalists, nor on the other hand do they conceal any new and terrible menace to the workers. Consequently we Socialists need waste no ammunition either for them or against them.

Winning Socialist Tactics. All Socialists, even opportunists, agree that revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist system, should be our ultimate aim. The REVIEW, on the other hand, is willing to concede that the enactment of some reforms may be on the whole advantageous to the working class. The real question is how best to adapt means to ends. The comrades of the right wing would put all the energy of the party into the struggle for votes and office, in order to enact reforms. We of the left wing, on the other hand, suspect that the Progressives can and will put the reforms through without our help, and that nothing we can do will hasten them in that process so much as for us to educate the working class in the principles of Socialism and push the work of organization, economic as well as political. Ten years ago we Socialists were all arguing to show the wastes of competition. That part of our work is finished. The capitalist understands the wastes of competition far better than we do, and he is abolishing them without our help. His next step will be to act on the discovery that he can carry on certain portions of the productive process more efficiently through HIS government than through private corporations. Some muddleheads think that will be Socialism, but the capitalist knows better. Democratic control of the productive process by the people who do the work is a vital part of the Socialist program, and it is over that part that the final battle must be fought and won. **The right of wage-workers to organize and to control the**

conditions under which they work—that is the issue that must be fought out between the two great opposing classes. If the Socialist Party is true to that issue, it can not fail.

Comrade Wayland. As we go to press word comes of the death of Comrade J. A. Wayland, publisher of the Appeal to Reason. For years he has suffered torture from an incurable cancer. A few months ago his wife was instantly killed in an automobile accident. Lately the United States Secret Service men have been discovered in the attempt to manufacture evidence to send Wayland, Debs and Warren to prison. Small wonder that Comrade Wayland found the strain too much for human nerves and on November 11 ended his troubles with a bullet through his brain. Wayland was one of the first and most efficient pioneers of Socialism in America. Himself a successful business man, he devoted his money and energy to the propaganda of Socialism long before the Socialist Party had taken shape. His newspaper has been no small factor in the growth of the party, and during the campaign of 1912 reached a circulation exceeding a million a month. It is a pity that his success should have been embittered by his personal troubles; it is fortunate that he has found others to carry forward the work so well begun.

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OR

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The War in the Balkans. Of war and rumors of greater wars to follow there is no end. Hardly had Turkey managed to conclude peace with Italy when it had to gather its armies to fight the Greeks, Montenegrins, Servians and Bulgarians. And these little states are so connected with Russia and England on the one hand, and Austria and Germany on the other, that a conflict of the great powers is not at all an impossibility. The great specter of the eastern problem is raised again, and all the European diplomatists and military strategists are on the lookout, each one eager to discover how, before it is laid again, his government can make a gain in commercial or political relations.

While some of us are sympathizing with the under dog and others are rejoicing at the fond hope of seeing the "unspeakable Turk" finally driven out of Europe, it is worth while to look the matter over and see what all the trouble is about. As is usual in such cases, much is to be learned from a glance at a map. European Turkey is a slender strip of territory, about 60,000 square miles in all, running west from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. To the south lies Greece and to the north lie the so-called buffer states, which we usually think of as mere pawns in the great international game. In reality, however, these buffer states are much too large to play the part assigned to them by Bismarck in 1878. Servia contains 20,000 square miles, Roumania, 50,000, and Bulgaria, 40,000. These countries, moreover, represent millions of people who are still under Turkish dominion. Only about half the Serbs, for example, live in Servia; the rest are for the most part subjects of the Sublime Porte. Like that of the Poles and the Hungarians, their history runs back to a time when they were an important and an independent people. Precisely the same statements might be made of the Bulgars.

All this, however, does not explain the present war. Race hatred and religious fanaticism have kept the Balkan regions in a state of barbarous unrest for centuries. The great powers have always been able, either to prevent war, or to stop it before it really threatened the power of the Turks. This time, however, they have failed. It is as much to their interest as ever to bolster up the Sick Man of Europe and pursue their own interests by pretending to look after his. But the game seems to be about played out. It is amusing indeed to hear famous diplomats clucking about as if they don't quite know what to make of the situation. The important fact in the case is that Servia and Bulgaria have developed their industry to such an extent that it has become impossible for them to go on existing in the straight-jacket nicely fitted about them by the Treaty of Berlin.

A German writer puts the case nicely when he says that the whole trouble was started by the Servian pig. Servia, like the other buffer states, includes within its boundaries magnificent agricultural regions. Industrially it is much farther developed than Turkey. At the present time it has many products to place on the international market, especially pork. Another glance at the map, however, will show that Servia, though once a maritime nation, is now entirely shut off from the sea. The Austrian government levies such high duties that it is impossible to reach the outside world by way of the most direct land route. The route via Bulgaria and the Black Sea is roundabout, and Turkey controls the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. So this growing nation, which at the present time of high prices should naturally furnish Europe with large quantities of food products, is absolutely choked up so far as its industrial and commercial development is concerned. And it was Servia that started the present war. Its immediate purpose is the securing of a port on the Adriatic and a belt of territory running over the Balkans and furnishing a free passage to this port. At the present writing Servian troops have taken possession of two ports which will serve their purposes.

The case of Bulgaria is not so serious, but still bad enough. Bulgaria has, especially since the conquest of Eastern Rumelia, a long coastline on the Black Sea, but so long as the Turks hold Constantinople, this is of little use to them. Moreover, they feel that if all the territory in which the Bulgars form the predominating part of the population were under Bulgarian rule they would have a much better basis for the development of their natural industrial and commercial resources. So they, too, are fighting for a chance to grow.

The reason why the war has broken out at this particular time is purely an economic one. Of course there is a military advantage in starting at a moment when Turkey has been shot to pieces by the Italians. But even had there been no Turko-Italian war the Balkan trouble would have reached a crisis before very long. The Young Turk revolution in 1908 represented the rise of Turkish capitalism. The triumphant Young Turks instituted a regime of rigid centralization with the purpose of making all of the territory controlled by the government industrially and commercially tributary to Constantinople. This meant the wiping out of national and racial lines and the disappointment of the rising hopes of Serbs, Bulgars, etc., still under Turkish rule. The present war is, then, little more than a clash of the rapidly developing capitalist classes of the nations involved. It might have been postponed, but it could not have been prevented. And development has been so rapid that it had to come soon.

So far as the threat of international war is concerned, the present situation presents nothing new except the fact that the forces in operation have got away from the restraining influences exerted by the diplomats. The two great powers most immediately interested are Austria and Russia. Austria, without colonies and cut off on the west, naturally wishes to develop toward the east. She has already annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which according to the treaty of Berlin were to remain independent buffer states. She has established a protectorate over the Novibazar region, through which the Servians will have to go to find their most natural route to the Adriatic. The Austrian prime minister has declared definitely that Servia is not to be allowed to take any of the territory needed for the carrying out of her ambitions. Behind Austria stand Italy and Germany. Germany, moreover, has her own commercial interests in Turkey, and seems willing to resort to any lengths to prevent the allied Balkan states from reaping the reward of their military triumph.

Russia, on the other hand, needs a "warm-water port." It failed to secure one on the Pacific, and so long as the Turks hold Constantinople, the Black Sea ports are practically useless. Russian expansion demands the fall of European Turkey. Behind Russia stand France and England. Though England has played a leading part in the maintenance of the Turk's position in the past, she seems to have a perfect understanding with Russia at the present time.

In a word, Austria objects to the triumph of the Balkan states because it would mean the opposition of a united and powerful combination to her plans of expansion, and Russia objects because she wishes to preserve the Turkish empire until she can find occasion to take Constantinople herself.

France is the only country which has honestly been playing the peace-maker. Her relations with Russia tend to draw her into the war, but French business houses hold millions of dollars worth of Balkan securities. Her political relations ally her with Russia, but her business affairs ally her with the buffer states. So she is for peace.

The Socialists of the world have reason to be proud of the intelligence and courage displayed by their comrades during the present crisis. In Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria and Servia, where one might naturally expect the working-class to be carried off its feet by nationalist enthusiasm, the organized Socialist movement has declared itself energetically in opposition to the war. The parliaments of Bulgaria and Servia are alike in the fact that in each of them Socialism is represented by one member. And when, early in October, the war measures were introduced, each one of these lone Socialists arose and uttered his protest. On

October 11 the Socialists of Turkey issued a proclamation which concluded with these words: "We express our firm will to sustain with all our might the struggle of the international proletariat against war, against militarism, against capitalist exploitation, for liberty, for the emancipation of the classes and nationalities—in a word, for peace. Down with war! Long live the international solidarity of the peoples!" Our Austrian, Bohemian, and German comrades have held great protest meetings and issued anti-war proclamations. Finally, the international bureau issued on October 14 a call to the working-class of Europe to direct all of its energies against allowing the Balkan conflict to be turned into a general European war. It concludes with its oft-repeated call: "The bones of not a single proletarian must be sacrificed!"

It would be hard to find anywhere a series of events which display to worse advantage the worst characteristics of capitalism than do the dealings of so-called Christian Europe with the un-Christian Turk. In the first place, had the "Christian" powers left the antiquated Turkish government to its own resources it would long ago have fallen of its own weight and thousands of Christians would have escaped being massacred. Again, if Austrian and German capitalists had not insisted on the criminally selfish policies which isolate Servia and Bulgaria from the world market, the Balkan states would not have to fight Turkey for an outlet. Finally, the Balkan states themselves, were the capitalists of each one not bent upon seeking their own good at the expense of everybody else, might easily form a federation which would give them all a standing among the nations of the world and an excellent field for economic development. The whole terrible tragedy of the Caucasus is a result of capitalist selfishness and short-sightedness.

As the REVIEW goes to press the cable brings the news that by a unanimous vote the International Socialist Bureau has decided to call an extraordinary international congress, to be held not later than the middle of next January, at which the order of business shall relate exclusively to the international situation which has arisen out of the Balkan slaughter.

The International Bureau also takes occasion to send out to the labor press of the world the following circular of the Greek Socialist party:

Dear Comrades: Pseudo Socialists, victimizing the workers and playing into the hands of the capitalists, have become very active in throwing dust into the eyes of Greece. And now, on the occasion of the war, they are bent on deceiving Europe by falsifying the genuine Socialist opinion in Greece.

I am empowered, therefore, by the Directing Committee of the Greek Socialist party, 40 Rue Piree, Athens, to request you to ignore all circulars, appeals, information, statistics, etc., emanating from sources other than La Ligue des Travailleurs de la Greece, 40 Rue Piree, Athens, the London office of which is at 14 Park Square, London, N. W.

Genuine Greek Socialists are unanimous with their Comrades in Bulgaria, Turkey, Servia, etc., in considering that the war will be detrimental to the Balkan working classes, and that it has been undertaken in the interests of Balkan and European capitalism and political ambition exploiting the noble impulses and self-sacrifice of the people of Eastern Europe. With fraternal greetings,

FELICIA R. SCATCHERD,
Vice President of the Greek Socialist party.

A History *of* Socialism

THE bound volumes of the International Socialist Review constitute one of the most important contributions to the history of the Socialist movement of the world and especially of the United States during the past twelve years. Unfortunately five of the twelve volumes thus far published are already practically sold out, and no more can be printed. Seven volumes may still be had. We offer at ***$1.50*** each postpaid, or to our stockholders at 90c each, postpaid, the following volumes strongly bound in cloth, each containing 12 numbers from July to June inclusive:

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England.—"The Daily Citizen." For years we have been hearing of the plan to start an English labor daily. Two years ago the Independent Labor Party took definite steps toward the formation of a company to take charge of the enterprise. The labor party and the labor unions co-operated and the company was formed. It was agreed that a fund amounting to nearly $500,000 should be raised before the first number went to press. A board of publication was constituted with three representatives from each of the cooperating groups and one from the independent subscribers of stock. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald is the first chairman of this board. For convenience in distribution it was agreed to have the paper printed at Manchester rather than in London. The name chosen for the epoch making publication is "The Daily Citizen."

"The Daily Citizen" is now a fact. The first issue appeared on the morning of October 8. We now have a chance to size up results of the great effort made by the English Laborites and estimate its importance to the labor movement. What is "The Daily Citizen"?

The editor of Justice says it "is as like any halfpenny liberal capitalist daily as two peas." It seems to the present writer that Justice has rather overstated the case, but there is after all a considerable degree of truth in its dictum. Here is the way the editor of the new paper states his purpose: "We are out to fight a battle, and one of the ways in which we shall fight that battle is to present some of the important phases of life as they are, and not as they are supposed to be. We shall remember always the millions of people who are below the proper borderline of sustenance in this country. . . . We shall make clear the attitude of mind brought about in hundreds of thousands by the knowledge that the stoppage of next week's wages will mean penury and something like starvation in the course of the ensuing fourteen days. We shall give prominence in our news to those manifestations of the labor movement to be found in the meetings of the great unions and other of the workers' associations—for one reason, be-

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cause we believe them to be immensely important as parts of a world movement which will one day transform the face of the globe. Crude enough may be some of the things said and done by these people; unpractical and injudicious may be some of their methods. But always and ever, with whatever mistakes, they are struggling upwards to the light. We take our stand with them, and are proud to be by their side. And this is the great new feature of 'The Daily Citizen.'"

This is not bad—except for the suggestion of conscious superiority which keeps cropping out. "We" take our stand with the workers; "we" were not with them originally and do not belong with them naturally; nevertheless "we" are very proud to pose "by their side." But this other paragraph is much worse: "Our task is to give expression to the impulses that are moving the hearts of the people, to guide them, to make them available for calm, orderly use by those political and other reformers who are not afraid to go on continuing to build the City of God in this world." There is a perfect echo of this paragraph in a letter from the Bishop of Birmingham: "We welcome a journal which will help us to know and through knowledge to guide." It is hard to believe that these good people mean what they say. Starting a paper at a cost of $500,000 is an expensive way of being guided. In this country certain of our guides are willing to furnish us some of the desirable things of life for the privilege of exercising their wisdom in our interest.

The character of the matter given to the thousands of expectant readers must, however, have caused some misgiving in those who happened to be wage-earners. More space is given to sermons by clergymen and others than to news of the labor movement. Hall Caine writes at great length against the use of violence for the bringing about of social improvement and Philip Snowden argues against strikes. There are good wishes from all sorts and conditions of men, from Lord Northcliffe to Bramwell Booth.

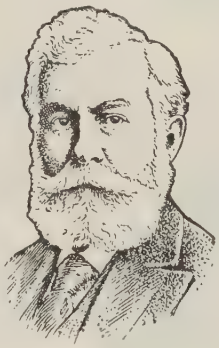
All in all, it seems to me that "The Daily Herald," which was started last April by the London printers, is a better labor paper than the new "Daily Citizen."

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In this, his latest book, he enters a new and vastly important field of research and knowledge, which has been strangely neglected outside the universities.

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Two especially valuable chapters are devoted to a careful placing of **Karl Marx** in the history of the science. One of these reproduces the astonishing views of Prof. **Albion W. Small,** of the University of Chicago, as to the position of Marx among the creators of the science of society. No such important concession to Socialism and its founder has ever before come from the sociologists of the chair.

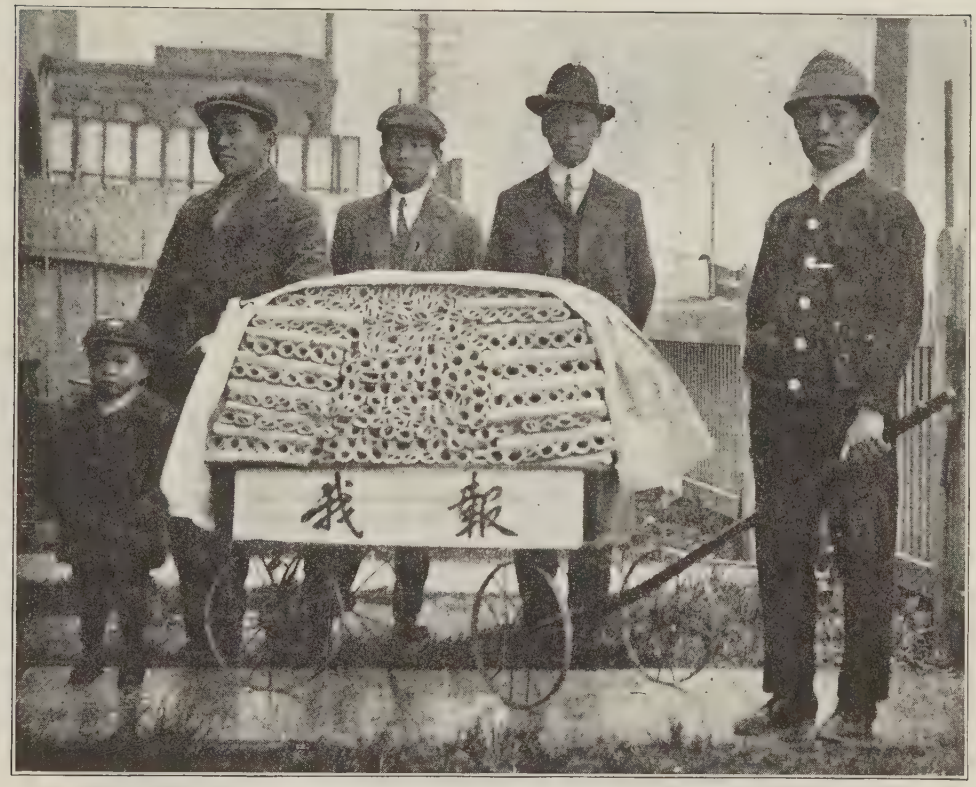
The rest of the book is a guide to sociology now taught in American universities. **Small** of Chicago, **Giddings** of Columbia and **Lester F. Ward** of Brown are the chief figures. All of this material will be new and absorbingly interesting to most Socialist readers.

More than half the first edition has been subscribed for in advance by comrades who listened to the lectures at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, and we are confident that the remainder of the first edition will be closed out at once to **Review** readers. Extra cloth, 224 large pages, gold stamping, **$1.00** postpaid.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



CHINESE COMRADES DISTRIBUTING LITERATURE.

Chinese Propaganda. I am sending a copy of the Chinese magazine, The Self Conscience, published in Vancouver in favor of the Socialist and Industrial movement. The magazine is gaining favor very rapidly, now having a circulation of 5,000. The Chinese are awakening to the call of Freedom. They recently celebrated the first anniversary of the overthrow of the Manchu.

The writer had the honor of being invited to their public Tea, in which over two hundred guests took part. Revolutionary decorations were used and several speeches made that would do the heart of Gene or Bill much good.

Saturday night, October 26, is the night arranged for them to meet in the I. W. W. hall and take up the matter of uniting their forces with their fellow workers of this city.

The photo reading from left to right is Master Gow, age 2½, who very importantly announces that he intends to be one of the Company when he grows up. The next is Walter Lee, a very promising high school boy, who never tires of agitation among his fellow schoolmates. Mr. Georgia Fong, the interpreter for The Young China Association, comes next, following by Paul Yaun, Secretary of the movement, and Arthur Wann, the editor of the new Chinese paper.

Comrade Wann won great admiration during the Free Speech fight last spring in this city when he fearlessly took the box in the vast sea of humanity on the Powell street grounds and defiantly delivered a most revolutionary address in the teeth of the police. Certainly China will not be long in awakening with revolutionists like this.

Comrade Wann is quite hopeful of being enrolled on the exchange with all Socialists and revolutionary papers in the states and Canada and already has the encouragement of a few. Should any papers desire translated news from the Orient, he will be pleased to furnish is on request.

He stated in a conversation: "When we find out our true friends we need have no fear of our enemies.

From FRANK W. HUDSON.

Canada Painters' Union Delegation to the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council introduced the following industrial union resolution: "That this Council endorse the principle

of Industrial Unionism, and that our delegate to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to vote accordingly. Copies of this resolution to be mailed to all Central Labor Bodies in Canada and the United States, asking them to take similar action, and report the result of the vote to this Council."

President Kavanaugh and Secretary Pettipiece add the following encouraging paragraphs:

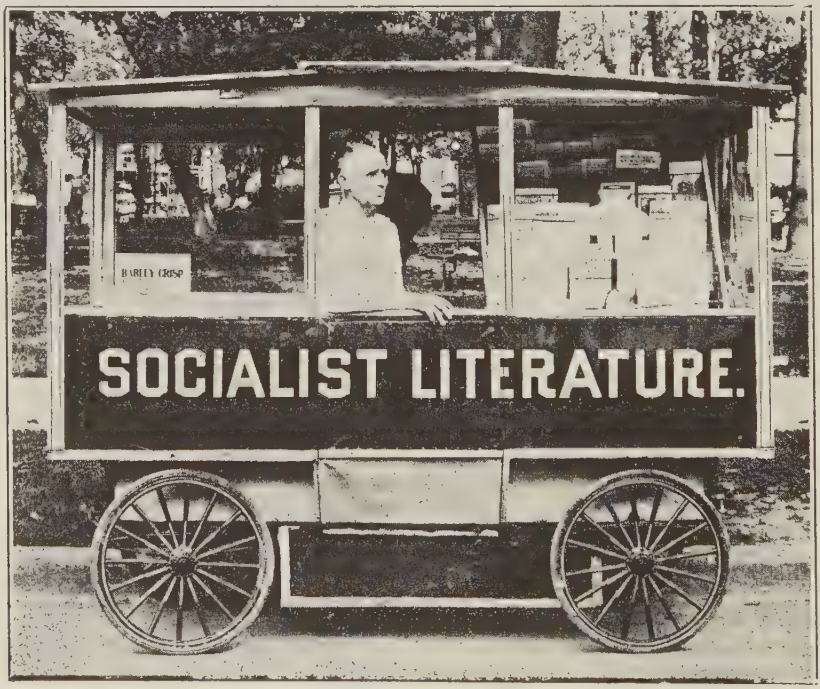
We feel satisfied that the subject is one worthy of the attention and consideration of every member of organized labor on this continent. That there is need for closer federation in our ranks there can be no question. The introduction of modern machinery; the elimination of skilled labor; the present lack of craft unity; constantly increasing jurisdictional squabbles; the trustification of industry; the gigantic and effective organization of employers everywhere; these and many other reasons that could be enumerated, appeal to us as warranting a discussion of the advisability of increasing the size and decreasing the number of present-day unions—accepting all that is commendable of the Industrial Union idea and adopting the principle in the workings, and reorganizing the workers with that end in view.

In the hope that the action of Vancouver Trades and Labor Council will provide food for the best consideration, reflection and action of your central labor body, and firm in the conviction that in the "unity of labor is the hope of the world."

From England. Alderman Wills who is one of the comrades prominent in the trade union convention held in England in September, writes that hundreds of copies of the REVIEW were sold there, in fact, all they had on hand. He says: "The rank and file of the trade unions of this city are more and more realizing the futility of sectional unionism and the change will likely come from below." Today we have the first copy of the new organ or the Labor Party. If this number is any sample, it will well represent the spineless party that we have in the British House of Commons.

Comrade Lela Dunn sent in four new ones for Louisiana to start with November issue. probation goes a long way.
Louisiana is looking up.

The Pushalong. Comrade R. H. Jachman of Indianapolis writes that he got an idea from the Seattle comrade who sold literature from a cart and built himself a 3x8 foot pushalong enclosed in glass. One-half of the cart is used to carry cigars and tobacco and campaign notions and the other half is filled with good Socialist literature, including the REVIEW. Comrade Jachman reaches folks who never go to Socialist meetings. Everybody wants to stop to see what he has in the wagon and nearly everybody buys something. A 200-candle power light calls attention to him at night and the originality of his pushalong by day. Comrade Jachman will advise comrades who are interested how he built the cart and materials needed, etc. His address is 738 E. Ohio street, Indianapolis.



COMRADE JACHMAN ON THE JOB.

Forty More—The following comrades sent in yearly subscriptions the day after election: Comrade Rush of Mobile, 12; Presley of Texas, 6; Nagley of Washington, 6; Woodward of Idaho, 6; Mead of Cal., 6; Rudledge of Cal., 4.

Ruby, Alaska. Big orders came in today from Alaska and Comrade Sandberg writes that they have organized an educational society to train the proletarians in industrial and political tactics. The comrades in Ruby believe that education is the chief thing to bring class action and they are starting in the right way. At present the boys are working to build their own club home—a two-story frame house 38 by 70 feet.

Brotherhood of Machinists. Comrade Lackey, General Secretary of the Brotherhood of Machinists, ordered nearly 700 copies of the November REVIEW for some of the different branches. We are greatly pleased to find that the REVIEW is making good with the men on the job.

Comrade Aller of Washington sent his endorsement last week by $5.00 for five yearly subscriptions. If you know Aller you know his approbation goes a long way.

Comrade Bamford of Pennsylvania writes: "We want to keep the REVIEW going here. Send us twenty a month for three months. I think the REVIEW is the most important revotionary Socialist work published in this country."

Comrade Singleton of Pennsylvania boosts the subscription list up fifteen points by sending us as many subs, which reached us this morning. This makes the fifth bunch of subs received from the Keystone State today.

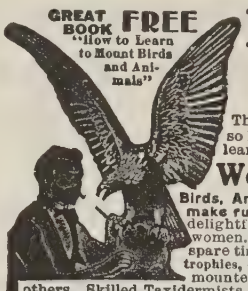
More Hustlers. Comrade Miller of Indiana sent in eight subs. Comrades Rathgeber of Jersey City and Barnes of Niagara Falls sent six yearlies each, and Comrade Cody of Williamsburg five.

Comrade Hoffman says: "I have never received anything so welcome or awaited with so much pleasure as the REVIEW.

Comrade Deutzmann writes: "The REVIEW is almost bread and butter to me. Extend my sub. for amount enclosed."

Comrade Young of Medford comes across with thirty-three six-months' subscriptions to the REVIEW and the subscription clerk says if there are many more like him he will have to have another assistant. We think Comrade Young holds this week's record.

Comrade Townsend of Canada writes: "Your battle has been a stern one and your success most wonderful. I appreciate very much the splendid books which I have gotten so cheaply through your plan. Before long I trust to be in shape to take another one or more shares of stock. The REVIEW is simply grand and I hope it will never retrograde an inch from its present 'No Compromise' character. Stick to the Revolution."


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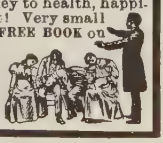
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Stockett, Montana. A comrade from Stockett writes us that the bunch are doing great work there. The Democrats and Republicans held their political meetings with brass bands, cigars and free booze, but the Socialists got out backed by the Finnish comrades. J. Westlund, Charles Kangas and some more good Reds put the old parties to shame by handing out the real working class dope at their meetings. They say that Ed. J. Lewis kept the crowd going. Those who heard the Dems. and Reps. went home loaded with booze and cigars, but these who heard Ed. got some ideas on the working class movement. We want to congratulate the friends in Stockett. Booze wears off, but when you get a working man started thinking it's all off.

Butte Again. No local in the country buys more good literature than Butte. In spite of the fact that the state office was almost entirely destroyed by fire this month, October 28th brings a check for $120.00 from Comrade Kriger for books and REVIEWS. Watch the Butte election returns.

Comrade Davies of Pennsylvania is in receipt of his book premiums, the three volumes of Marx's "Capital," price $6.00, which he received free as a premium for subscriptions, and is enthusiastic about them. Comrade Davies says he is going to send in another bunch again soon. Write and ask about our premium book offer.

New Rupture Cure

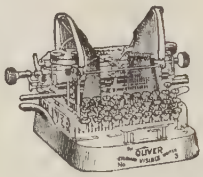
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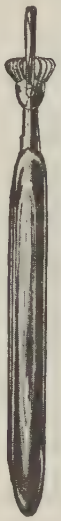
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COMRADES OF PUYALLUP.

C. W. Garrett sends the photo printed here of local Socialist headquarters at the Puyallup Valley Fair, Wash. REVIEWS and standard Socialist literature were on sale, also Truth, the new Socialist paper started in Tacoma, with W. E. Reynolds as editor.

The New Review, published at 150 Nassau street, New York, N. Y., will issue its initial number January first. Comrades had better write early and enclose 10 cents for a sample copy. They will all want to preserve the first number as a souvenir.

St. Louis Industrialists have organized branches "prohibiting lawyers, preachers and professional parasites and grafters from membership." We believe there are several such branches, but Branch 1 will not accept a member who is not industrially employed. Branch 2 is non-dues paying. Evidently these comrades want to make it as easy as possible for actual workers to join. The purpose of these Industrialist Branches is to teach Socialism and industrial organization at one and the same time. Branch 1 does not use dues stamps

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but collects 25 cents monthly for some definite purpose decided on by its members. The women are always on hand to help in every way, and comrades report that the social affairs mean a good time for everybody. Mrs. Rieman writes sending best wishes to the comrades on the REVIEW.

Comrades in the locals all over the country are sending in local election returns to the REVIEW. It is impossible to publish in full the inspiring messages sent us, as lack of space compels us to sift out only the most important details for publication. Later reports from locals will appear in the January REVIEW.

Indiana: Secretary Block, of Evansville, writes that Venderburgh county polled more than the Bull Moose candidate, the Socialists carrying two precincts and increasing the vote from 1,031 in 1908 to 2,572.

J. F. Bixler, Argos, reports 158 Socialist votes for Debs and 142 for Steve Reynolds for Governor in his county.

L. P. Romerill, secretary of Vevay, writes that the Socialist vote increased 500 per cent in Switzerland county, Indiana.

Iowa: A paper published in Bussey, Iowa, reports that the Socialists won every office in that township, defeating the Republicans, Democrats and Progressives by a decisive vote.

Organizer Axel Peterson of Avery writes that the S. P. carried the township of Mantua and elected eight Socialists to county and township offices.

Georgia: The Lake Charles Press reports that the Socialists carried four precincts and that Debs ran second on the ticket, beating both Taft and Roosevelt.

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Reds in England. Fred Shaw sends in another order for books and REVIEW and the photograph of a Branch of Industrialists who are party members and industrial unionists. Six of the boys are excellent speakers and each and every one of them is doing great work in his particular district.

Hustlers Again—Comrade Reiter of Toledo sends in twenty subscriptions as a starter. Jim Pruit and Frank Pepin, both of Oregon, hit the beam with six new yearlies each. Comrade Smith of Spokane, rang the bell for eight wide-awake ones.

Comrade Sandberg sends in $12.50 from Alaska, saying this is for REVIEW subscriptions and that he can't possibly be without the REVIEW.

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From Melbourne, Australia.—Enclosed please find money order for L1:1:0 for which kindly forward to me care above address two dozen monthly REVIEWS for December, January and February. Two new branches formed within the last few weeks—one at Perth, W. A., and another at Brisbane, Queensland. This may seem to you Americans in a large way of business a very trifling affair but it is a large achievement when you consider that we have to oppose a Party trading under the banner of Labor; have eliminated all so-called palliatives from our platform and adopted an uncompromising attitude towards Militarism.—H. J. Cruickshank, Literature Secretary.

From A Frisco Red.—Enclosed find $6.00 for which you will please send the FIGHTING MAGAZINE to the following names. This signifies a little "direct action" right on the job. Five of the six subs are from boys who work on the same government boat that I do. Yours for a bigger and better REVIEW every month. You may expect more subs later.

Gets A Library.—Comrade Smoot of Local Glendive, Montana, sends us in a ten spot for ten yearly subscriptions to the REVIEW and has selected a bunch of books for a starter to the local's library.

No Compromise in Cleveland.—At a recent meeting of the City Central Committee the following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, The *Cleveland Citizen* in its issue of Nov. 2, published what amounts to an endorsement of non-Socialist candidates for political offices, to be resolved, by Local Cleveland, S. P., that we demand that the national office take the *Cleveland Citizen* off the list of papers on the national office exchange list and thereby take from *The Citizen* the prestige of recognition as a Socialist publication."

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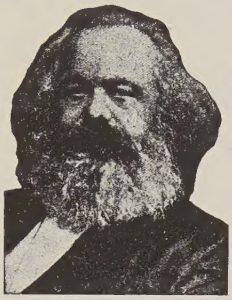
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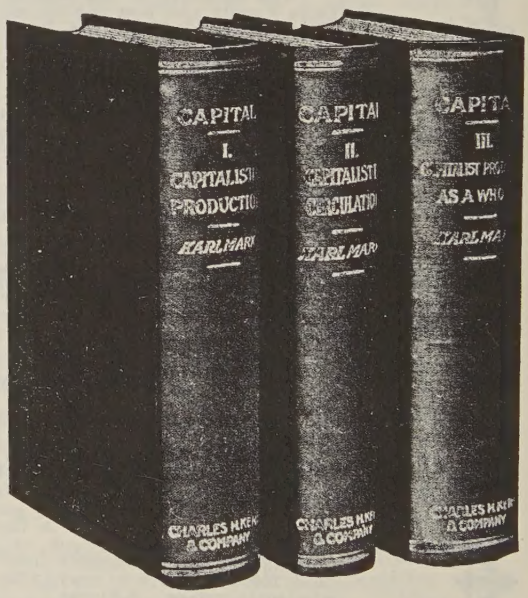
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